

**THE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF TOURISM
ON INDIGENOUS CULTURES**

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ABSTRACT

This research addresses the socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism on the indigenous people of a developing nation. The Cook Islands served as a case study. Quantitative and qualitative methods were used to collect data on four islands which had experienced varying degrees of tourism and other acculturative influences. The data were then analysed using a methodology informed by grounded theory.

It was found that although residents on all four islands had experienced acculturative influences including tourism, (a highly visible, contemporary form of acculturation), there was no significant indication of psychological dysfunction associated with this. It is suggested that this is due in part to the characteristics of Cook Islands culture, the type of tourism currently experienced in the Cook Islands, and specific ethnopsychological features of Cook Islanders which act to moderate the stressful aspects of intercultural contact resulting from tourism. A conceptual model is proposed outlining this process and its subsequent outcomes.

CHAPTER I

LITERATURE REVIEW

I. INTRODUCTION

Tourism, as a topic of social science inquiry, has only emerged relatively recently as a *bona fide* area for research; its origins can be traced back to the early 1970s (Dann, Nash & Pearce, 1988). Since that time, tourism has evolved as a complex and multidisciplinary phenomena which has been explored from a variety of social science perspectives, including psychology. The psychological literature pertaining to tourism covers a range of different areas which have been approached mainly from applied traditions in social and environmental psychology (Pearce, 1988). Included in these are the social role of the tourist, tourist motivation, contact between tourists and members of the host society, and environmental settings for tourist behaviour (Pearce, 1982a). Despite this range of topics, tourism is considered to be an understudied phenomena within the discipline of psychology (Pearce, 1988). This may be due in part to tourism having somewhat frivolous and trivial connotations as an area of legitimate study, as indicated by Francesco Frangialli (1991), Deputy Secretary General of the World Tourism Organisation,

If you try and indicate the fact that you are, in reality, studying the development of one of the world's primary economic activities, which demands a serious and attentive approach, you will usually only receive a slightly sardonic smile, clearly marked by the scepticism of your interlocutor (cited in Lanfant, 1993, p. 71).

Tourism is a global industry with an estimated economic value of \$2 trillion (Cronin, 1990) and represents one of the largest movements of goods, services and people outside wartime (Greenwood, 1972 & 1989). International travel is a large part of this, and is now likely to be one of the major sources of person-to-person intercultural contact in contemporary society (Dogan, 1989). There are very few areas in the world that are not visited by tourists and, “(t)oday almost every community and nation, large and small, developed or developing, is influenced in varying degrees by tourism” (Jafari, 1982, p.137). Despite this, international tourism is “simultaneously the most promising, complex, and *understudied* (emphasis added) industry impinging on the Third World” (Turner, 1976, p. 253). Although this statement was made almost twenty years ago, tourism remains a relatively recent field of study (Pearce, 1993), and much of the research to date has been methodologically unsophisticated and lacking a strong theoretical base (Dann, Nash & Pearce, 1988; Pearce, 1993). Researchers have also been criticised for adopting “(c)oncepts and techniques...from their parent disciplines and (applying them) with little or no modification or explicit rationale to tourism problems” (Pearce, 1993, p. 1).

This study investigates the socio-cultural and psychological effects of contact between tourists from developed nations on the indigenes of a developing country, the Cook Islands. Related literature is reviewed followed by a discussion of the epistemological background to the study and the methods employed. Quantitative and qualitative results are then presented and discussed. Subsequent to this, a theoretical framework for understanding the psychological effects of acculturation in the context of tourism is proposed and discussed using the Cook Islands as an exemplar.

II. THE SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON DEVELOPING NATIONS

Socio-cultural impacts of tourism are the ways in which tourism contributes to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relationships, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organisations (Fox, 1977). They are the 'human impacts' and concern the effects on the residents of a host community resulting from their direct and indirect associations with tourists and the industry that supports it (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

(1) Tourism and Intercultural Contact

Intercultural contact between tourists and host nationals can be regarded as a unique form of cross-cultural interaction. Tourists generally stay for a short period of time in a community, tend to be affluent compared with local residents, and have different motivations for travel than other visitors such as migrants or sojourners. Tourists, as opposed to sojourners or migrants, do not have to adapt to the local community, and because of their relative affluence, they are placed in a unique niche within the resident population, allowing them to observe and examine the host culture (Pearce, 1982).

Tourist-host encounters generally occur in three main contexts: where the tourist is purchasing some service or good from the host; where the tourist and host find themselves side-by-side, such as at the beach or in the market; and where the two

parties come face-to-face to exchange ideas or information. The first two types of encounters are quantitatively more common (Nettekoven, 1979). Tourists and hosts generally have different goals and expectations of an encounter. The tourist is mobile, relaxed, free-spending, utilising leisure time and trying to absorb the experience of being in a different environment; the host, on the other hand, is relatively stationary, and is often in a position of serving the tourists' needs (Sutton, 1967). The tourist-host relationship is further characterised by several main features. One of these features is that the relationship is generally transitory and non-repetitive in nature (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Noronha, 1979; Sutton, 1967; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1976). Because the tourists' stay in a host country is relatively brief, the temporary relationship formed between hosts and tourists is different for each of the two interacting groups. Tourists often consider the meeting to be interesting and unique because of the novelty of the host culture; by contrast, for the host it is merely another superficial relationship with yet another tourist. Because of this brevity and superficiality, tourist-host relationships are also characterised by an orientation to immediate gratification on the part of both parties (Noronha, 1979; Sutton, 1967). Relationships between the tourists and hosts often lack spontaneity and are directed towards commercial transactions, turning acts of hospitality into a series of cash-generating dealings (deKadt, 1979; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; UNESCO, 1976); intercultural transactions which were spontaneous and natural tend to have been replaced by ones which are contrived and commercial (English, 1986). The relationship between tourists and hosts tends to be asymmetric both in terms of economic power and knowledge, with tourists possessing greater amounts materially, and the hosts having more information about local culture, resources and

prices (Noronha, 1979; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Sutton, 1967). The tourist-host relationship is also characterised by temporal and spatial constraints. Tourists are often concentrated in 'tourists ghettos' (areas with high densities of tourists' accommodation, attractions and facilities). This influences the duration and intensity of contact between tourists and hosts (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; UNESCO, 1976). In addition, the tourists' search for novel experiences and attempts to do and see as much as possible in a short time impose a strain on both the hosts and the tourists. The pressure placed on the hosts to fulfil the tourists' urgent need to 'do and see it all' may induce psychological pressures for the hosts of which the tourists may be unaware (Noronha, 1979; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Sutton, 1967; UNESCO, 1976). These factors and characteristics establish tourist-host encounters as being a unique and intense form of intercultural contact.

Although there is consensus within the literature that tourism is a distinctive form of intercultural contact, there is discrepancy amongst the social science tourism researchers as to what exactly constitutes the socio-cultural effects of tourism. Tourism and tourists have, at times, "been chosen as a conspicuous scapegoats" (Crick, 1989, p. 335) for the malaise of society as a whole (Smith, 1989a), when in fact, the effects of tourism can be difficult to distinguish from other agents of socio-cultural change (Cohen, 1979). "Tourism is not a unique devil" (deKadt, 1979, p. 12); it is only one of many influences which may affect the attitudes and values of people in a society. Tourism occurs within a wider societal context than just that of the tourist-host encounter; the effects of the mass media, education, urbanisation, technical innovation, commercial development and immigration must also be

considered, and socio-cultural change not attributed to tourism in an arbitrary manner (Bystrzanowski, 1989; Crick, 1989; deKadt, 1979; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Nash & Smith, 1991; Smith, 1989a). At times, cause and effect relationships have been applied with little regard given to the potential influence of factors other than tourism. As Smith (1989a, p. 17) points out, "(i)t is patently easier to blame a nameless, faceless foreigner who comes (and goes) than it is to address and solve fundamental (societal) problems". In responding to the question, "Is tourism a major agent of culture change?", a guide in Tana Toraja, Indonesia, reflected accurately upon the situation with his reply, " 'Tourism is not important in our lives--we see the world on television every night'" (Smith, 1989a, p. 9).

Despite this, it can still be argued that tourism contributes uniquely to socio-cultural change. Tourism, as opposed to many other agents of social change, is a *live* agent of change; tourism requires the consumers (tourists) to travel to the product (the host nation) and unlike some other agents of change, host nationals interact with tourists on a person-to-person basis (Bystranowski, 1989). This physical presence of the "customer" creates a unique set of socio-cultural consequences missing from other export activities (Crick, 1989). In addition, tourism, unlike other means of social change such as mass media, technical innovation and education, is not very amenable to screening measures (Bystranowski, 1989; deKadt, 1979). Furthermore, the phrase 'tourism industry' is somewhat of a misnomer in itself as tourists purchase goods and services from a variety of industries, with less than two-thirds of their expenditures for accommodation and food, which are normally identified with the tourism sector. Therefore, tourists' contact with the host nationals extends far beyond the

characteristic tourist setting (deKadt, 1979). However, there does appear to be consensus in the literature that tourism on its own can exacerbate both positive and negative impacts on a host culture, particularly when it involves tourists from developed nations visiting and interacting with hosts in a developing country.

The socio-cultural impacts attributed to tourism can be explored from two perspectives: indirect influences operating through larger economic and cultural changes in a community and direct person-to-person encounters (Pearce, 1982). It has been widely believed that direct contact between tourists from developed nations and host peoples in developing countries often leads to conflict, exploitation and social problems (Pearce, 1982), leaving behind a "bewildered people, crippled institutions, and a ravaged environment" (Dogan, 1989, p. 217). Notwithstanding, some local individuals who experience direct contact with the tourist population do benefit from it, though the literature suggests that they may be in the minority (Crandall, 1987; Pearce, 1982; Smith, 1978; Taft, 1981).

The literature offers a multitude of case studies presenting both positive and negative effects of tourism on people in different regions (*cf* Ap, 1992; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Boissevain, 1979; Brougham & Butler, 1977; Bystrzanowski, 1989; *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 1982, 1990a & 1990b; Evans-Pritchard, 1989; Greenwood, 1972; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Patterson, 1992; Petit-Skinner, 1977; Pizam, 1978; Rossel 1988; Smith, 1989b; Thomason, Crompton & Kamp, 1979; White, 1974). In broad terms, the reported effects fall into two general societal (as opposed to individual) level categories: socio-economic impacts and socio-cultural impacts. These categories are

not mutually exclusive, but do tend to operate at different levels; socio-economic impacts tend to be more indirect influences operating through larger economic and cultural changes in the community, whereas socio-cultural impacts generally result from direct interpersonal encounters. What is not as clear in the literature is how tourism impacts on the psychological (or individual) level.

(2) Socio-Economic Impacts

Tourism is often promoted as a means of improving socio-economic structures in developing nations in terms of job creation, increased foreign exchange earnings and/or achieving a balance of payments. However, despite the economic benefits associated with tourism, several negative consequences may also result (Crandall, 1987; Minerbi 1992; UNESCO, 1976). Mathieson & Wall (1982, p. 142) state that if tourism replaces another economic activity in a short period of time, and heavy reliance is placed on tourism as a means for acquiring foreign exchange, "socio-cultural and psychological repercussions are inevitable". Tourism may create employment opportunities, but the form they take may be inconsistent with traditional patterns of work (Ryan, 1991). One negative consequence of this may be economic independence for groups within the host culture who were traditionally dependent or subservient, such as women and young people. Concomitant, with this gain in status, others in the society may 'lose ground' (Harrison, 1992). Although the socio-economic and social standing of traditionally subservient groups may improve, it can affect socio-cultural and psychological changes as a result of non-traditional independence (Harrison, 1992; Minerbi, 1982; Petit-Skinner, 1977;). Additionally, if equal opportunities for employment do not exist, a tourism based economy may further stratify the local

population into “elite” and “commoners”. Minerbi (1992) argues such economic emargination and lifestyle alterations could potentially result in negative behavioural changes such as family violence, child abuse and suicide.

Much of the employment associated with the tourism sector is menial in nature and pays low wages, while many of the higher paid professional positions in tourism are held by foreigners, including off-shore ownership of resorts (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Noronha, 1979; Samy, 1973). This in part has led to contemporary tourism being labelled as a form of “neo-colonialism” (English, 1986; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; UNESCO, 1976), and is felt by some to lead to frustration, alienation and hostility by members of the host population, particularly when tourism development has failed to alleviate the problems of economic underdevelopment (Crandall, 1987; Husbands, 1986; Kent, 1975; Pearce, 1982).

Geographic and labour force displacement may also occur as a result of tourism. Entire settlements may be displaced to make way for tourist developments in scenic areas such as beaches or locations with views. Similarly, the rising cost of land values in desirable tourist locales may also displace local inhabitants who can no longer afford to maintain or purchase property in established areas (Crandall, 1987; Harrison, 1992; Minerbi, 1992). Conversely, migration can also occur towards developed tourist areas when members of the host society are attracted to the potential wages offered by working in a tourist development (deKadt, 1979). With the displacement of locals from their traditional residential areas, or the migration of individuals to tourist development areas, a common result is a shift of labour from the primary sector eg.

fishing and agriculture, to the seemingly more lucrative in the tourism related sectors. This migration may result in higher, if not first time, wages for employees, but can also result in disruption of traditional economic and social patterns (Crandall, 1987; Noronha, 1979). Additionally, the dispersal of workers from primary sectors may result in higher food prices (deKadt, 1979; Minerbi, 1982), seasonal employment/unemployment and permanent unemployment as the tourists' demand for the destination alters, which frequently occurs in tourism (Crandall, 1987; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Noronha, 1979).

On the positive side, improvements to local infrastructure, often funded in part by the surplus from tourism revenues, are frequently made to meet the demands of the tourists, and the host population may also benefit as well eg. improved health services, airports, roads, water and sewerage systems and recreational facilities (Crandall, 1987; Smith, 1989c). However, the costs for these improvements may be passed on to the local residents and not solely funded through tourism (Crandall, 1987), or the improvements may not always be accessible to the local population.

(3) Socio-Cultural Impacts

Many residents in host countries have concerns that tourism will facilitate a growth in undesirable activities such as prostitution, gambling, increased drug trafficking and changes in local sexual mores (Crandall, 1987; English, 1986; Harrison, 1992; Minerbi, 1992), and indeed, in some areas, this appears to be the case. Urbanowicz's (1977 & 1989) studies in Tonga noted that as a consequence of the visiting of large cruise ships to the islands, children begged from visitors in tourist

areas, prostitution was seen to increase in response to the visits of the ships and quickly earned tourist dollars were often spent in the port towns, resulting in increased levels of drunkenness and crime. Similar increases in prostitution correlated with tourism have also been reported in Mexican border towns and the Seychelles Islands (Turner & Ash, 1975). Nor is tourist related prostitution confined to women within the host societies, Turner and Ash (1975) noted the growth of the 'beach boy' phenomena, where young men earn a living from female tourists in resort areas rather than seeking conventional employment. In addition to prostitution, the availability of drugs in Bangkok and Hong Kong is felt by some to be in response to the demands of tourists from Japan, America and Australia (Pearce, 1982).

Direct person-to person encounters between tourists and hosts do not necessarily have to be exploitative or undesirable, as described above, to have an impact on the host culture. The mere act of a tourist observing the day-to-day life of the host can have consequential effects. Smith (1989c) described a situation with native Eskimos in Alaska in which the simple act of tourists observing and inquiring about the routine butchering of a hunting or fishing kill led to feelings of resentment towards the tourists. Barriers were erected by the Eskimos to preserve their privacy and some resorted to hiring taxis to transport their catch home so they could butcher it away from the prying cameras and questions of the tourists.

The expectations and anticipations of the tourists can also impact on the host society. Petit-Skinner's (1977) study of tourism and acculturation in Tahiti focussed on the changing societal role of men and women as a result of tourism. For many

tourists, Tahiti has a reputation for its beautiful women. As a result of this, much attention has been bestowed upon the women and a governmental policy of employing women as tourists guides was enforced. As an outcome associated with this, the traditionally male dominated Tahitian society experienced a shift, with many males being placed in subservient roles to women. Petit-Skinner also suggested that the psychological relationship of married and courting couples had been affected by the tourists' popular expectations and behaviour towards Tahitian women, and that Tahitian men and women were coming to view themselves as the tourists do.

Related to the above idea is social dualism, in which the adoption of foreign values and ideologies by members of the host community subsequently comes to influence their lives and behaviours. This can lead to sudden and disruptive changes in the social customs and patterns, which can interfere with the unique dynamic developments of the society (Crandall, 1987). Also evident in some host communities is the "demonstration effect". This refers to the adoption of tourist behaviour, attitudes and consumption patterns by members of the host population, particularly youths. Adoption of tourist dress, particularly that which is considered 'immodest', can lead to conflict between youths and older, more traditional, members of the host society (Biddlecomb, 1981; Boissevain, 1979; Harrison, 1992; Ryan, 1991). The frequenting of tourist facilities by local youths, such as nightclubs and bars, can also be problematic, as in many cultures, it marks a radical break with traditional forms of socialising (Boissevain, 1979; Harrison, 1992). New health problems and non-communicable diseases may also result if the demonstration effect results in locals adopting new food preparation and eating habits based on tourist consumption patterns

(Minerbi, 1992). It can be argued that the demonstration effect can potentially lead to improved standards of living for the host population, but unless the opportunity for upward mobility actually exists, eg. education and employment, the results could be negative; frustration could ensue as it becomes clear that few opportunities for employment exist, and the related consumerism could lead to people living beyond their means (Crandall, 1987), or even migrating to the tourists' home country in the hopes of attaining the lifestyle that they have adopted from the tourists (Nettekoven, 1979; Urbanowicz, 1977 & 1989).

On the positive side, direct encounters between tourists and hosts can lead to increased cross-cultural understanding for both parties (Crandall, 1987), and can provide a means for the host people to 'broaden their horizons'. This was demonstrated by Boissevain (1979) in his study on the effects of tourism on Gozo, a small independent island. It was found that Gozitans, especially the young, enjoyed meeting outsiders on a regular basis, exchanging views and practicing other languages; for the resident of Gozo, international tourism "opened a window to the outside world" (Boissevain, 1979, p. 84). It appears from this literature that tourists, if in small manageable numbers, can have a positive impact on some small, technically unsophisticated communities (Pearce, 1982 & 1988).

Although tourism has been criticised for negatively affecting native arts, crafts and architecture through commodification of these aspects of material culture (deKadt, 1979; English, 1986; Harrison, 1992; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Minerbi, 1992; Noronha, 1979; Ryan, 1991; UNESCO, 1976; Turner & Ash, 1975), it is also thought

that tourism may create a 'cultural renaissance' which helps to fortify aspects of the traditional culture, such as woodcarving, crafts skills and dance (McKean, 1978; Smith, 1989c). The support of traditional ethnic art through tourism can help reinforce local identity, self-esteem and psychological satisfaction (Pearce, 1982). However, on the negative side, by becoming a marketable commodity, the traditional culture of the host community, along with its symbolic and spiritual importance, could begin to lose its relevance for the indigenous people (Crandall, 1987; Pearce, 1982). Tourists, who often lack the social scientific skills to recognise the significance of cultural activities to the host society, may precipitate the trivialisation of traditionally important events, resulting in their presentation primarily for the attraction of tourist dollars (Crandall, 1987; Pearce, 1982). Also disconcerting is the possibility that some tourists may unknowingly buy, and subsequently display while still in the host country, religious or cultural artefacts that may be *taboo* for certain groups of indigenes to see eg. women and children (Mackenzie, 1977; Pearce, 1982).

Through the influence of new jobs created by tourism, the demonstration effect and direct social contact between hosts and tourists, changes in the host's language use may occur (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1982). White (1974) found a link between the decline in the use of indigenous language in relation to increases in tourist activity in his study of a tourist area in eastern Switzerland. Indigenous language is a critical feature of the social and cultural structure of a population. The decrease in the use of the indigenous tongue may result in the disturbance of well-established social patterns, as well as the disruption of local social and cultural identities (Brougham & Butler, 1977; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; White, 1974). In addition, language has an

important role in that it is not only a means of communication, but also contributes to shaping perceptions of the world; it reflects what is seen as being important by the users and creators of the language. The erosion of an indigenous language has significant implications for the host society; norms and values of the society may come to be supplanted by another culture by the very act of everyday communication (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Ryan, 1991).

Perhaps the most notable effect of tourism on traditional values and culture is that certain social and human relationships are brought into the economic sphere and become an integral part of earning a living, thus commercialising interpersonal relationships (deKadt, 1979). With the advent of large-scale tourism to developing countries, goods and/or services that used to be part of people's personal and social lives have been commercialised and offered as commodities (deKadt, 1979). Commercialisation means that services previously provided free come to be offered primarily for money, thus a value system based on moral values comes to be replaced by one based on money (Dogan, 1989). Interpersonal relationships are transformed into a source for economic gain and the proportion of non-economic relationships decreases (deKadt, 1979),

... the tourist soon imposes its values on the society he (sic) is visiting. The single, most effective agent in this process is the tourist's money. The tourist's superior economic wealth rapidly erodes the sensuous and aesthetic wealth of cultures that have developed in isolation from the western world (Turner & Ash, 1975, p. 130).

While commercialisation of culture and interpersonal relationships may be one of the negative socio-cultural effects of tourism, it is not brought about solely by tourism, but may be accelerated by it (Nettekoven, 1979).

(4) Tourism in Context

Tourism is not the only factor in socio-cultural change, and may in fact be a relatively minor agent of change when compared with the effects of industrialisation, immigration, education etc. While it is true that tourism may improve the economic situation in developing countries, the way in which the income is spent is primarily determined by the recipients of the income; it is not inevitable that they will choose to spend it in ways which replicate the lifestyles of the tourists. Host countries are not “passive sponges” soaking up introduced ideas; resulting changes are not solely the result of tourism, but reflect the underlying strength of the host culture. Socio-cultural change of this type, therefore, is a result of the interaction between the nature of tourism and the ability of the host culture to withstand and absorb tourists, while continuing to retain its own integrity (Ryan, 1991). For example, MacNaught (1982) argues that host societies have the ability to distinguish between a genuine cultural event and a show staged for tourists, thus to infer that tourism undermines the integrity of a host culture is simplistic. Some cultural traits, such as public rituals, can be shared with tourists without major socio-cultural disruption, as long as the number of spectators remains small; it is when tourism invades the privacy of daily life, or when significant cultural rituals are subject to wide “grandstand” audiences that social stress may become apparent (Smith, 1989a). Te Awekotuku (1981) reported similar findings regarding the importance of boundary maintenance in her study of the effects of

tourism on the Te Arawa people of New Zealand. However, she indicated that tourism in the Te Awara region

...is unique in the South Pacific grouping of Polynesian islands, for unlike Rarotonga, Samoa, Tonga or Niue, the Maori of Aotearoa were taken over, their population decimated, and their sovereignty ceded to a colonizing Western power (Te Awekotuku, 1981, p. 283).

The key however, is whether the host society is able to maintain its own social and cultural events without them becoming an attraction for tourists. If the events do become a tourist attraction, the presence of the tourists may come to change the ambience, and in time the meaning, of the event for members of the host community. However, it must be noted that cultural events, like anything else in a host society, do not happen in a vacuum; modernisation will have an effect on the staging of events regardless of tourism. The question is whether or not tourism alters the internal meaning of the event for the indigenous people (Ryan, 1991). Just as modernisation impacts upon cultures, it also impacts upon tourism; modernisation is rapidly changing much of the tourist realm, and as it does, many problems previously associated with host-guest relationships are diminishing (Smith, 1989a). However,

The degree to which tourism contributes to the acculturation process, the nature and direction of effects emanating from the process, and factors which could be manipulated to minimize the role of tourism in acculturation are topics which are essentially unexplored and unanswered in the literature (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, p. 161).

As far as many host nationals are concerned, tourists are often "invisible" as they do not individually hold positions of political or economic power to which the population is subject. Tourists have no direct influence on matters such as laws, taxes and other regulations. As such, the traditional cultural influences remain dominant and tourism has only a subordinate role (Nettekoven, 1979). Despite this, the intercultural

relations of the indigenous population with the tourists is of great importance in any discussion of the social and cultural implications of tourism (Nettekoven, 1979).

Intercultural encounters between tourists and hosts need to be differentiated according to the stage of tourism development in which they occur and the type of tourist involved (deKadt, 1979; Smith, 1989a). Tourism tends to become problematic as the numbers of tourists increase (Smith, 1989a). The level of maturity of the tourism industry, the degree of dependence on tourism and the patterns of interactions between tourists and resident all contribute to its socio-cultural effects and are all related to tourist 'type' (Husbands, 1986).

Smith (1989a) has proposed a typology of tourists (Table 1.1), which differentiates tourists by their numbers, their goals and adaptations to local norms. Each of these tourist 'types', which tend to correspond with the stage of tourism development, will have a different sort of effect on the host population.

TABLE 1.1
Frequency of Types of Tourists and Their Adaptations to Norms (Smith, 1989, p. 12)

TYPE OF TOURIST	NUMBER OF TOURISTS	ADAPTATION TO LOCAL NORMS
Explorer	Very limited	Accepts fully
Elite	Rarely seen	Adapts fully
Off-beat	Uncommon but seen	Adapts well
Unusual	Occasional	Adapts somewhat
Incipient mass	Steady flow	Seeks Western amenities
Mass	Continuous influx	Expects Western amenities
Charter	Massive arrivals	Demands Western amenities

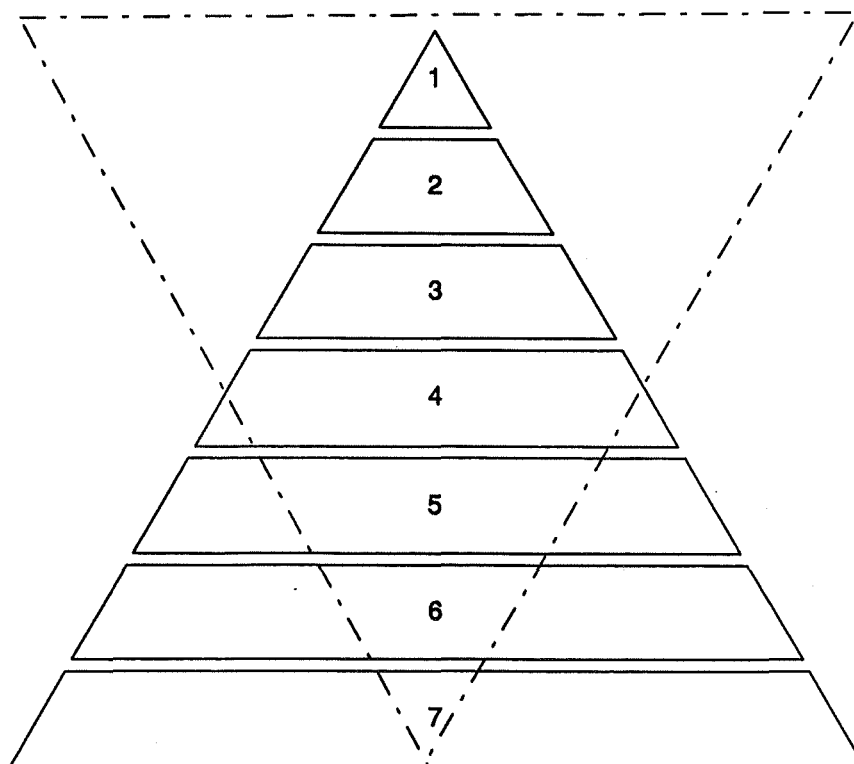
Explorers, by definition, are not really 'tourists', and are comparable to anthropologists living as active participant observers amongst "their people", as such,

their numbers are few. Smith suggests they adapt nearly totally to the local norms in housing, food and life-style, though they are often supported by Western technology such as “walkie-talkies”, dehydrated foods, oxygen tanks, medicine, etc. This of course would depend on the explorer/anthropologists’ particular methods and needs. Elite tourists are also few in numbers, and tend to be tourists who prefer to go ‘off the beaten track’ for their holiday destinations. They differ from the explorers in that they are indeed “touring” (engaging in recreational travel), however, they adapt easily, and living “native” is all part of their holiday experience. The off-beat tourist are those who either (1) seek to get away from tourist crowds, or (2) increase the excitement of their trip by doing something “out of the ordinary”. Generally, they adapt well and “put up with” the local conditions for the duration of their stay. The unusual tourist tends to be “interested” in the local “primitive culture”, but prefers to “view it from a distance”, perhaps by taking an organised day trip to a local village. Incipient mass tourism is a steady flow of people, though they tend to travel as individuals or small groups. These tourists seek Western amenities even though they may travel to an “out of the way” location. Mass tourism is a continuous influx of tourists and the impact of their sheer numbers is high. Furthermore, they tend to prefer a “tourist bubble” of Western amenities in “popular”, well travelled to locations. The final type of tourist are the charter tourists. They arrive *en masse* in popular, well established locations, demanding familiar Western amenities. They tend to travel in large groups on tightly organised itineraries and their contact with the host population is confined to tourism service related situations (Smith, 1989a).

Smith argues the frequency of these different tourist types approximates a pyramid (Figure 1.1) with the larger numbers of charter tourists represented by the base of the figure. An inversed triangle suggests the level of penetration of the host culture by the increased flow of tourists. Explorer and elite tourists, due to their limited numbers and style of travel, penetrate minimally into the indigenous culture.

FIGURE 1.1

Touristic Impact Upon a Culture (Δ) and Local Perceptions of Visitors (∇), Expressed in Types of Tourism: 1. Explorer; 2. Elite; 3. Off-beat; 4. Unusual; 5. Incipient Mass; 6 Mass; 7. Charter (Smith, 1989a, p. 15).



However, it could be argued that the first tourists to a region, the explorers, would have an immense impact upon the host nationals as the first harbingers of Western culture. Although quantitatively fewer than mass tourists, the impact of explorers may be qualitatively as great as that created by greater numbers of tourists at later stages of development. It may actually be the elite tourist who has the lesser impact. Unusual

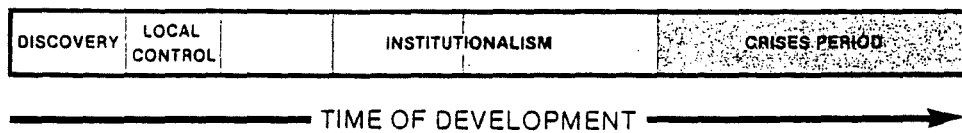
and off-beat tourists make minimal impact, and although they require some amenities, they tend to utilise “local” facilities eg. accommodation and transportation. However, as the number of tourists progressively increases, and the type of tourist changes eg. incipient mass, mass and charter, more tourist-style facilities are required, if not demanded (Smith, 1989a). The stressful contacts between tourists and hosts tend to increase proportionately to the greater numbers. Smith (1989a) argued that the critical point occurred at, or near, the intersection of the two triangles (Figure 1.1), when incipient mass tourists began seeking Western amenities. It is at this point that the host nationals should decide whether to (a) consciously control tourism to preserve cultural and economic integrity; or (b) to encourage tourism as an economic goal and restructure the culture to absorb the increasing numbers.

Concomitant with the changing types of tourists to a destination is the evolution of the tourism area both in terms of stages of development and hierarchies of capital control and input (Keller, 1987; Figure 1.2). In an attempt to provide an integrative model depicting the evolution of a tourist area, Butler (1980) has proposed a six-stage cycle in the evolution of a tourism area (Figure 1.2A). The first stage, the exploration stage, is characterised by a small number of visitors, similar to Smith’s (1989a) explorer and elite tourists. They tend to make their own travel arrangements and adapt to local conditions. The hosts often respond to these initial tourists with enthusiasm, perceiving that the tourists will bring benefit to the area (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). The tourists are often treated as “guests” of the community and the social impact of their visit is minimal, as it is often within traditional patterns of

hospitality. Commercial activity tends to be small scale, often individually or family based; tourism marketing strategies are all but absent (Ryan, 1991).

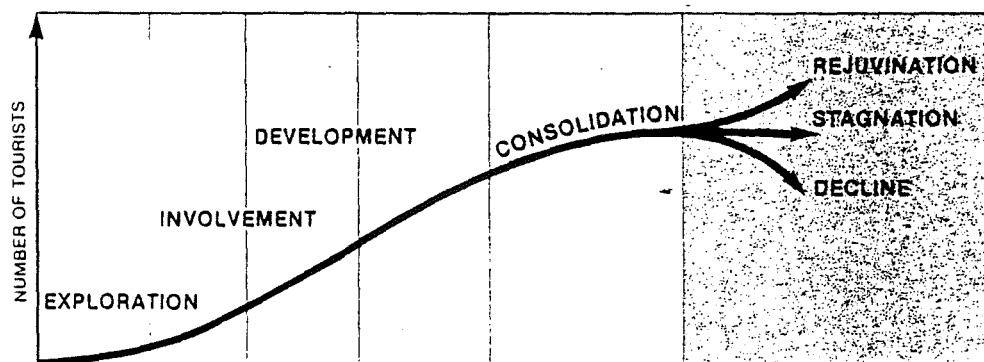
FIGURE 1.2.

Generally Recognised Phases of Tourist Development (Keller, 1987, p. 24)

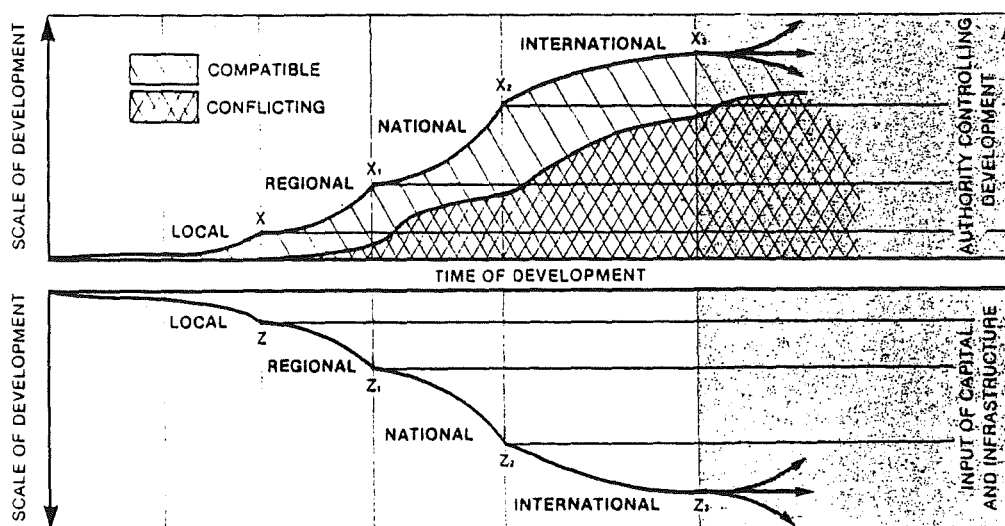


A) Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution (Butler, 1980)

A) TOURIST AREA CYCLE OF EVOLUTION (Butler, 1982)



B) Hierarchies of Control and Capital Input (Keller, 1982 cited in Keller, 1987)



If the number of tourists continues to increase, the destination reaches the second stage, the involvement stage. The host community responds to the increasing number of tourists, usually of the off-beat and unusual type (Smith, 1989a), by providing some facilities. In the initial stages, these facilities may be family or community based. Contact between hosts and tourists increases, but continues to remain harmonious. The tourists tend to have a high level of interest in the culture and adapt to the local way of life. In the later stages of the involvement stage, some host nationals may anticipate the continued growth of tourism in the area and expand available facilities. Local entrepreneurs may become more “commercial” in their dealings with tourists and marketing efforts take on a more “professional” air, often with the conception of a regional or national tourism organisation (Ryan, 1991).

The third stage of the tourism cycle, the development stage, sees a significant upsurgeance of tourists to the area; the community is now a “tourist resort” (Butler, 1980), frequented by incipient mass and mass tourists (Smith, 1989a). Retail businesses appear, some owned by host national, others by non-nationals. As the development stage progresses, activity generated by locally owned business decreases as more “outsiders” become involved in the tourism industry. Relationships between tourists and hosts becomes more “business like”; tourism has lost the novelty and excitement it once had for the local population. In time, the development of further amenities slows down (Ryan, 1991).

As further expansion eases, the consolidation phase begins. The “exclusivity” of the area is gone and it is no longer “fashionable” with seasoned travellers. In order to maximise profits and sustain visitor numbers, low prices and “cheap” packages may be offered, thus attracting charter tourists (Smith, 1989a). The resort area begins to decline and environmental, social and economic problems become paramount; the stagnation stage is reached. Attempts to either rejuvenate by appealing to other forms of tourism, or find alternative uses for tourism assets are made. If they succeed, the rejuvenation stage is realised; if they fail, the resort enters into a stage of decline (Ryan, 1991).

Keller (1987) (Figure 1.2B) elaborates further on this cycle by suggesting that the authorities in control of development change as tourism develops. As the source of capital and supply of infrastructure change, the “hierarchies of authority” change. As the demand for capital grows, different hierarchies of authorities take the leading role in decision making. At the initial stage of tourism development, tourism remains under local control; if development continues, local ability to meet the demands is surpassed and comes to be replaced by increasingly more external sources of capital input, control and decision making. These changes are concurrent with the changing types of tourists visiting the area and the stage of development the area is at (Figure 1.2A). Keller (1987) pointed out that the model will not fit the evolution of every peripheral resort area, rather that it demonstrates that different types of consumers (tourists), producers and regulating authorities are attracted to the development through time, and that this may lead to major adaptations, impacts and changes. These impacts can range from positive and constructive to negative and destructive dependent on the

stage in the growth cycle, and who judges them. Keller concluded that avoidance of conflict requires maintenance of control over decision making by local authorities and development on a scale within the scope of local resources.

It is generally agreed that in respect to socio-cultural impacts, the host community has a threshold of tolerance for the tourists which varies both spatially and temporally. As long as the number of tourists and their cumulative impacts remain below this critical level, and the economic impacts continue to be positive for the host community, the host nationals will be generally accepting of tourists (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

III. PSYCHOLOGY AND TOURISM

Obviously, tourism is not the only means to effect socio-cultural impacts on a society, and may in fact be a relatively minor agent of change when compared with the effects of industrialisation, immigration, education etc. Much of the literature discussing the socio-cultural impacts of tourism does not make it apparent how these other factors may also have impacted on the society. However, at the same time, tourism is becoming increasingly one of the most common forms of intercultural contact. More is becoming known about its effects on society at large, but little research has been directed towards exploring the effects that these societal level changes have on individuals within the host population. It appears that this may be in part a result of the prevalence of tourism research from disciplines such as sociology,

anthropology, geography and economics, which undertake the study of tourism from primarily a societal level. Psychological research has addressed tourism mainly from a social psychological perspective, which again, has emphasised societal or group processes (Pearce, 1982, 1983 & 1988). Without addressing the effects of tourism at the individual level, the full range of the impacts of tourism may not be apparent.

Cross-cultural psychology has two broad domains of interest, the first of which is concerned with the psychological similarities and differences across a broad range of cultures. The second domain is concerned with people's psychological adaptations as they move between cultures. This second domain is a relatively new area of interest within cross-cultural psychology; its proponents seek to understand the individual level psychological effects that are related to the experience of intercultural contact through the process of acculturation. It is the task of cross-cultural psychologists to explore the relationship between intercultural contact and psychological effects, to come to an understanding of them, and to then attempt to find systematic features so generalisations about the processes regarding the psychological responses to intercultural contact and change can be made (Berry, 1990). Tourism falls within this second general area of study as it is one of the major means of intercultural contact in contemporary society.

(1) Acculturation and Psychological Acculturation

Acculturation can be defined as culture change that results from consistent contact between two distinct cultural groups (Berry, 1988a & 1990; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry, Kim & Bowski, 1988). Several generalisations can be made

about acculturation: (1) Culture change and acculturation are universal and can be studied anywhere; (2) Culture contact is a major source of acculturation everywhere, and includes dispersal of culture by such diverse means as immigrants, missionaries, business people, guest workers, diplomats, films and literature and of course tourists, to name but a few; (3) Cultures influence each other, however (4) Acculturative pressures tend to flow in an unbalanced way, reflecting power differences across cultures; and (5) Among relatively low power, developing societies, some may be more susceptible to acculturative pressures than others (Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1990). While generally thought of as a group level phenomenon, eg. cultural, social and institutional changes, acculturation is now widely recognised as an individual level phenomenon, eg. changes in the behaviour and traits of persons. This individual level change is referred to as psychological acculturation and refers to the changes individuals experience as a result of participating in the process of acculturation that one's cultural group is undergoing (Berry, 1988a & 1990; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry, Kim & Bowski, 1988). Acculturation, and the subsequent psychological outcomes, fall under the general heading of mental health, as mental health involves the effective functioning of individuals in their daily lives and their overall ability to deal with new situations. Inherent in this definition is the absence of distress and dysfunction; rather the definition emphasises the positive qualities of well-being (Berry & Kim, 1986; Berry *et al.*, 1988).

It must be noted that at the level of psychological acculturation, not all acculturating individuals participate to the same extent, or in the same way, in the broader level changes occurring. Consequently, if the psychological effects of

intercultural contact on the individual are to be understood, population level changes, and participation in these changes by the individual, must both be assessed and then both of these measures related to the psychological consequences for the individual . In addition, in order to understand the psychological outcomes of intercultural contact, the direction of the flow of the events must be clarified. Generally, the flow of events is from antecedents to consequences and the goal is to understand population and individual level consequences in relation to the antecedents. Reverse flows may occur but generally, the pattern is as discussed above (Berry, 1990 & 1988; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988).

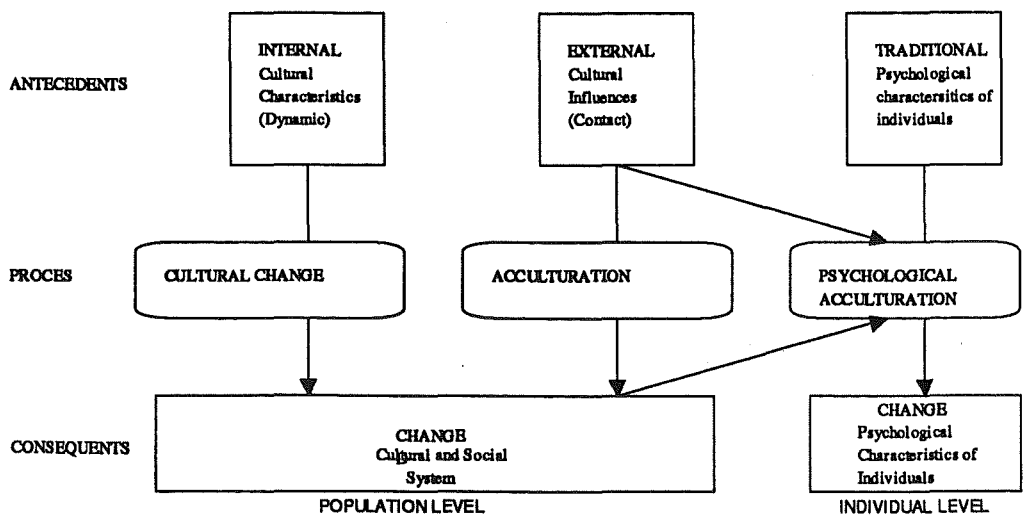
Cultures are dynamic and evolving and would change in the absence of tourism or intercultural contact of any form. Indeed, culture change must be differentiated from acculturation. Culture change is the process by which changes at the population level occur as a result of dynamic *internal* phenomena such as innovation, discovery or invention (at the population level) and insight, creativity and drive (at the individual level). Acculturation, on the other hand refers to population level changes which occur as a result of *external* sources of change such as education, colonial government, industrialisation and intercultural contact (Berry, 1990 & 1988; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Though defined as being different, it can, at times, be difficult to distinguish clearly between culture change and acculturation. As psychological acculturation is an individual level response, many options exist for how the outcome will be manifest, but in all cases, the intercultural contact and the psychological response will be related to each other (Berry, 1990 & 1988; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988).

Figure 1.3 provides a framework for conceptualising the complex relationships among social, cultural and behavioural variables involved in acculturation as approached in cross-cultural psychology.

(2) Tourism and Acculturation

Tourism is appropriately studied and understood within the general framework of acculturation theory; tourists from developed countries may be thought of as a “donor” culture and the host population as the “recipient” culture. Tourism may provide another laboratory situation for the testing of acculturation theory (Nunez, 1963). From the discussion above regarding acculturation and psychological acculturation, several key elements are important in the study of acculturation and tourism. One obvious element is the need for the occurrence of consistent, first hand

FIGURE 1.3.
Relationships Studied in Acculturation Research (Segall *et al.*, 1990, p. 294).



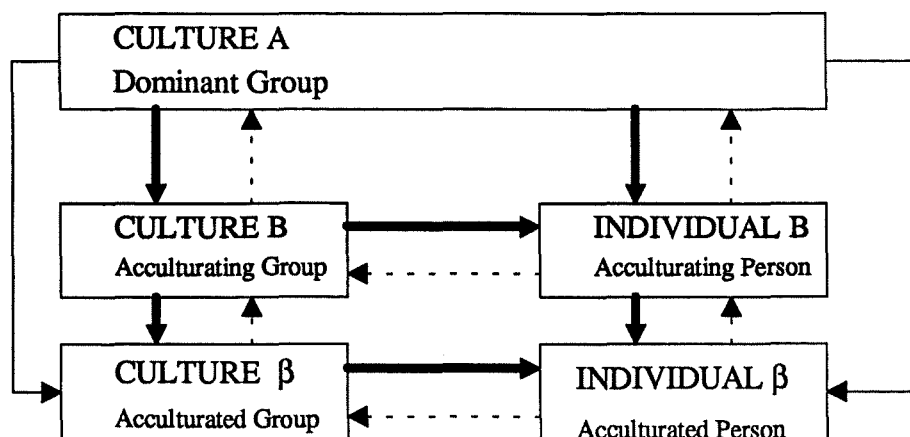
contact between two or more cultures. This rules out short term “accidental” contact and diffusion, which is the external introduction of single items such as the plough, writing and firearms (Berry, 1990 & 1988; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988). Consequently, as a result of this contact, some salient change in the cultural or psychological phenomena the culture must be affected. If these aspects are viewed together, the difference between process and state can be illustrated. Activity both before and after the intercultural contact can be dynamic; this concerns the *process* of acculturation. However, the resulting change from the process is a relatively stable, salient *state* (Berry, 1990 & 1988; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988).

Figure 1.4 provides a framework for identifying variables and relationships in acculturation.

(a) **Direction of Influence.** Figure 1.4 depicts two cultures in contact, culture A and culture B. For the purpose of this review, culture A represents the (dominant) visiting culture, in this case the tourists, and culture B the acculturating, or host culture. Theoretically, both A and B could influence each other equally, but in reality, one tends to dominate the other. In the case of tourism, as discussed above, the direction of the influence is generally from A to B, though, it must be recognised that B can also have an influence on A. Since tourism is a ‘two-way street’ involving interaction between hosts and guests, there is no *a priori* reason to rule out a consideration of consequences for both the hosts and the guests; a one-sided analysis is incomplete no matter how unequal the relationship being studied (Nash, 1989). If

FIGURE 1.4

Framework for Identifying Variables and Relationships in Acculturation Research
(Berry, Trimble & Olmeda, 1986, p. 293)



the tourist-host ratios were small, hosts may influence the behaviour of tourists, particularly while they are in the host community (Ryan, 1991), but generally in the case of developing countries, tourists are mainly Western and more wealthy; they are less likely to “borrow” from the hosts than their hosts are from them (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). The framework acknowledges this possibility of this lesser B to A influence, and is represented by the dotted lines. This framework also distinguishes between the process of acculturation (culture B) as opposed to the state of acculturation (culture β), as well as indicating the parallel phenomenon of individuals in group B undergoing psychological changes resulting from influences both from within their own group, and from group A (Berry, 1990 & 1988; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988 & 1986).

(b) Characteristics of the Dominant (Tourist) Group and the Acculturating (Host) Group. As discussed previously, several factors affect how

tourism will effect a host community. Figure 1.4 provides a framework for understanding the direction of the influences, but there are also specific variables which need to be considered. The nature of the tourist-host encounter is determined in part by the nature of the tourists, the belief and cultural systems of the host country and the physical carrying capacity of the area (Ryan, 1991). Acculturation is accelerated by the constantly changing tourist population and depends on the amount of exposure to the tourists. It is reinforced by the collective experience of each new group of tourists arriving (Nettekoven, 1979).

The variables which affect the process of acculturation can be discussed under two general headings: the characteristics of the dominant group (the tourists), and the characteristics of the acculturating group (the host nationals). Essential characteristics of the dominant group include the following:

(1) *Purpose*: Why the contact is taking place, and the goals of the tourists in making the contact need to be considered (Berry, 1990). The activities that tourists participate in and the 'style' of tourism will influence the amount and type of contact with the members of the host society (Butler, 1974; Crick, 1989; Crandall, 1987; Husbands, 1986; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Smith, 1989a). For instance, the tourist who spends their whole holiday on the beach and in resort bars will have less contact with host nationals, and it will be of a more superficial nature than the tourist who frequents local host 'hangouts' (Crandall, 1987). Similarly, the institutionalised mass tourist, or the tourist who has briefly come ashore from a cruise ship, does not tend to stray outside the 'environmental bubble' of the package tour. They will have less

contact, and contact of a different sort, than the tourist who penetrates further into the space of the host community. Non-institutionalised forms of tourism allow for more intense interaction for small numbers of people, whereas institutionalised forms of tourism lead to relatively little host-guest contact (Butler, 1974 & 1989; Crandall, 1987; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Smith, 1989a).

(2) *Length of Stay*: It is important to consider the length of the contact and whether contact is daily, seasonal or permanent phenomenon (Berry, 1990; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). How long the tourists stay needs to be considered as this could influence contact with the host population; the longer someone stays in an area, the greater the likelihood that they come into contact (and repeat contact) with the local people, and the greater the likelihood that they penetrate into the local area spatially, economically and socially (Butler, 1974; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). The historical significance of the country eg. whether the host country is an ex-colony of the main tourist group (Crandall, 1987) also needs to be considered. In many areas of the developing world tourism is strongly associated with servility. It may "reawaken" memories of a colonial past and could potentially perpetuate historical resentments and antagonisms (Crick, 1989).

(3) *Permanence*: Another consideration is the permanence of the dominant group (Berry, 1990). Obviously, in the case of tourism, temporariness of residence is definitive of the term "tourist" (Leiper, 1990), however, it may be important to consider the composition of the tourist group eg. do a majority of the tourists come from a particular country or geographic area? Or, has the host country been

consistently visited by the same nationality of people historically, or has the destination evolved in popularity from country to country, with the original tourist group having moved on to a new location? What is the seasonality of tourism in the country; do locals have the opportunity to have a “break” from tourists at particular times of the year? Over the years as a destination goes through development cycle(s) the nature of tourism, or the types of tourists change, thus tourist-host interaction may undergo transformations (Butler, 1980; Crick, 1989; Smith, 1989a).

(4) *Size*: The size of the host population may determine to some extent the amount of contact with tourists. This is particularly relevant when viewed in conjunction with the volume of visitors to a host country; a small number of visitors to a large host country is likely to have less effect than a large number of tourists visiting a marginally populated island or resort area (Berry, 1990; Crandall, 1987). Size refers not only to population and its density, it also refers to the geographical size of the country. In small countries, particularly islands, even modest tourist development may place considerable pressure on residents; contact between tourists and hosts be frequent and intense and the social and psychological consequences more pronounced. Therefore, large numbers of tourists in small countries may place pressure on limited resources and infrastructure (eg. water, sewerage, waste disposal etc), which may also impact negatively on host nationals (deKadt, 1979; Husbands, 1986).

(5) *Policy*: The policies regarding involvement of locals in planning for tourism, local employment at the management level and local ownership of tourism facilities may impact on the effect of tourism on the host population. Negative impacts may be

evident particularly if policy favours off-shore or outside investment (Berry, 1990; Crandall, 1987; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Simmons, 1986 & 1989).

(6) *Racial and Economic Characteristics*: The greater the 'distance' between the tourists and guests in terms of race, language, culture and level of affluence, the more pronounced the socio-cultural effects may be (Butler, 1974; Crandall, 1987; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). For example, a Canadian tourist in the United States is likely to have minimal impact because the cultures are very similar, but the same tourist may have a far more pronounced effect in Polynesia due to the greater culture distance (Butler, 1974).

(7) *Cultural Qualities*: If the tourist group possesses cultural qualities that can help meet specific needs, or improve the quality of life for the host country, it is much more likely to lead to acculturative changes (Berry, 1990). Economic dependence on tourism and the degree to which the demonstration effect is evident exemplify this key characteristic (Crandall, 1987; Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

A parallel account of the characteristics of the host culture is as follows:

(1) *Purpose*: The voluntariness of the intercultural contact needs to be established eg. immigrants generally have a high degree of voluntariness in their contact, whereas native peoples do not (Berry, 1990). As the host population is generally the native or indigenous people, their contact with the tourists may not be

highly optional , “ ... dominant cultures have a history of entering, uninvited, into many parts of the world” (Berry, 1990, p. 235).

(2) *Location*: Whether the host peoples are in their traditional location and still have access to their land and other resources is an important factor (Berry, 1990). As was discussed previously, some tourism development has been the precursor to labour force and land displacement, resulting in the migration away from traditional living areas and employment outside the primary sector. The spatial characteristics of the location are also important eg. are tourist areas placed away from or close to host settlements and/or do tourists have access to host communities (Butler, 1974)?

(3) *Length and Permanence*: As discussed above, tourism by nature implies a temporary, short term residence. However, the stage of acculturation for the host country needs to be specified eg. has contact just begun, have acculturative pressures built up or has a conflict already appeared as a result? As Mathieson and Wall (1982, p. 113) point out, “When tourism is introduced gradually...the waves of impact are usually small”. The “waves” at the early stages of tourism development (acculturation) may in fact be mere “ripples”.

(4) *Population Size*: Again, this characteristic is much the same as described above for the dominant culture. However, in addition to what has been discussed previously, the host population’s vitality may also need to be considered. Is the population sustaining or increasing in size or is it decreasing? If it is decreasing, what is this the result of ie. declining birth rate, migration etc.?

(5) *Policy*: As was discussed above, whether there is local involvement in tourism business and/or decision making is an important consideration. The negative effects are likely to be reduced if policies favour local control over tourism development (Berry, 1990; Butler, 1974; Crandall, 1987; deKadt, 1979; Simmons, 1986 & 1989), though even local control can facilitate negative impacts of acculturation, as was evident in Petit-Skinner's (1977) study.

(6) *Cultural Qualities*: It is important to consider whether there are certain aspects of the traditional culture that affect the acculturation process (Berry, 1990) eg. island cultures which rely heavily on their primary industry may be dispossessed of their livelihood if developers force them away from their land or seaside villages. Also the complexity of the host culture is important when considering cultural qualities. The more developed the economy, the politics and the degree of nationalism and cultural identity, (including use of the indigenous language), in the host culture, the more able they may be to alter the course of acculturation (Berry, 1990; Butler, 1974; Crandall, 1987; Crick, 1991).

(7) *Conceptualisation of Tourism*: When assessing the effects of tourism and acculturation, particular consideration needs to be made of the hosts' conceptualisation of what constitutes tourism. Contemporary tourism is primarily a Western phenomena, and is reliant on discretionary income, time and association of "travel" with "leisure" (Leiper, 1990). As such, it does not necessarily have equivalent counterparts in non-Western societies. Although many non-Western societies engage in some form of

travel, it is not implicit that it is conceptually equivalent to Western tourism. There is growing support that tourism should be approached from an emic stance, from which the first point of departure for research should encompass the indigenous definition of “tourist” and “tourism” (Cohen, 1979; Crick, 1989).

(c) **Indicators of Group and Individual Level Acculturation.** In addition to considering the characteristics of both groups in the acculturation process, it is important to consider the changes that have already taken place as a result of acculturation (culture β in Figure 1.4) (Berry, 1990). Some specific phenomena which need consideration include:

(1) *Political*: Has the host society experienced changes in political characteristics as a result of acculturation? Have there been changes in traditional systems of authority? (Berry, 1990).

(2) *Economic*: Has there been a move away from traditional, primary sector areas? Is there a reliance on tourism as a means of “export” (exogenous) dollars? Has the distribution of wealth changed? Has a new wealthy class or individual economic dependence emerged as a result of increased tourism, (Berry, 1990; Crandall, 1987) or other colonial practices (Crick, 1991)?

(3) *Demographic*: Has the population size changed? Has the urban/rural distribution changed? Has the age or gender profile changed? (Berry, 1990).

(4) *Cultural*: Have new languages, religion, modes of dress, food transportation, schooling, housing, science and technology and forms of social organisation and relationships been adopted in response to tourism? How do these relate to the previous norms? Do they conflict, displace or merge with the previous norms (Berry, 1990) ? All of the above are important indicators of the extent to which acculturation has taken place in a host community (Berry, 1990).

As *individuals* vary in the extent to which they participate in, and are subsequently affected by the acculturation process, individual variables, as well as the group variables discussed above, need to be considered. The following are several of the variables associated with individual level assessment of participation in the process of acculturation (Berry, 1990), with corresponding questions as to how the variables may apply in the case of tourism:

(1) *Education*: How far has the individual gone in formal schooling which has been introduced from the outside? Has this schooling included tourism/hospitality awareness or training? Has the schooling been undertaken with the express purpose of gaining employment in the tourism industry?

(2) *Wage Employment*: To what extent has the individual entered paid employment relating to tourism in stead of remaining in traditional economic activities?

(3) *Migration*: To what extent has the individual moved location due to tourism, either as a result of displacement or to move to tourism employment?

(4) *Media*: To what extent does the individual listen to radio, watch television or read papers and magazines which introduces him/her to the dominant culture?

(5) *Political Participation*: To what extent does the individual involve him/herself in political structures or local decisions regarding tourism? Does the individual still adhere to traditional political hierarchies?

(6) *Religion*: Has the individual altered his/her religious practices to accommodate tourism?

(7) *Language*: What is the extent and knowledge of the indigenous language? Does the individual speak the language of the predominant tourist group?

(8) *Daily Practices*: Has the individual changed personal dress, housing, food habits etc., to those of the tourists' culture? To what degree? Is any of it to accommodate the tourists (Biddlecomb, 1990)?

(9) *Social Relations*: What is the individual's degree of involvement with members from the tourists' culture? Does the individual socialise with the tourists at all? Maintain friendships, marry etc.?

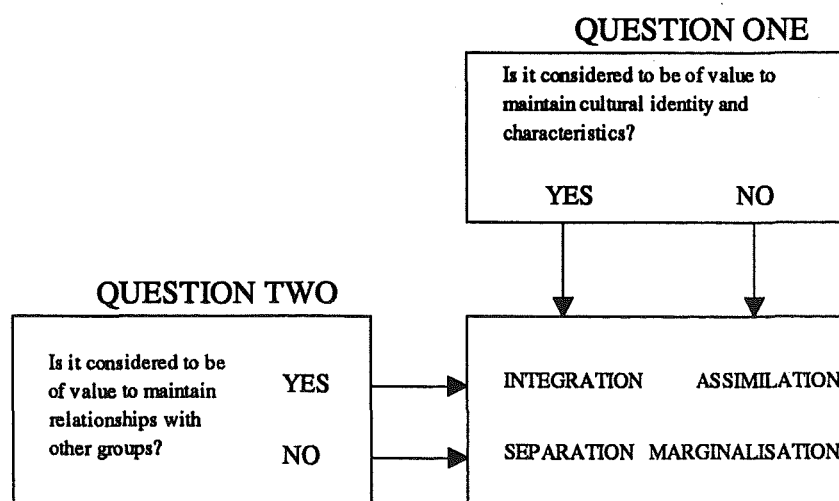
(d) **Acculturation Attitudes**. The goals of acculturation are not always unidirectional. Rather than viewing acculturation as necessarily heading towards the

modernisation or “coca-colonization” (Lambert, 1966) of a host community, it can be viewed as a multilinear phenomena consisting of a set of alternatives from which the individual can choose his/her way to relate to the dominant culture (Berry, 1990).

Berry & Kim (1988) have termed this acculturation attitudes (Figure 1.5)

The issues central to the framework for the four varieties of acculturation attitudes (assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation), posed are: 1) the degree to which one wishes to remain culturally as one has been; 2) the extent to which one wishes to have contact with the dominant culture; and 3) which group has the political power to choose the responses to the first two issues (Berry, 1990; Berry & Kim, 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1989). Figure 1.5 illustrates Berry and Kim’s (1988) framework in which the first two issues are posed simultaneously.

FIGURE 1.5
Four Varieties of Acculturation, Based on Orientations to Two Basic Issues (Berry & Kim, 1988, p.211).



Resulting from this are four varieties of acculturation based on orientations to the two basic issues. The four modes of acculturation can be defined as follows:

(1) *Assimilation*: This is an individual within the acculturating culture who does not wish to maintain his/her cultural identity and seeks frequent interaction with the dominant culture. If this decision is freely chosen, the “melting pot” phenomenon occurs; if it forced, the “pressure cooker” phenomenon may result;

(2) *Separation*: If the individual places value on the indigenous culture, and wishes to avoid contact with the dominant culture, separation ensues. However, if the dominant culture requires this separation and keeps that acculturating culture secluded, it is a situation of segregation or apartheid;

(3) *Integration*: This situation occurs when there is interest in maintaining one’s original culture as well as having frequent interactions with the dominant culture;

(4) *Marginalisation*: When the individual has little interest in maintaining cultural identity or contact with the dominant culture, marginalisation results. This refers to the individual who is neither accepted nor supported by either culture

Acculturation attitudes may be “uneven” across domains, and one individual may display different acculturation attitudes in different situations eg. work, lingualism etc. (Berry, 1990).

Although Berry and Kim’s (1988) framework for varieties of acculturation has not been applied to situations of tourism *per se*, a similar framework has been applied

theoretically to host countries' responses to tourism (Dogan, 1989). Rather than integration, separation, marginalisation and assimilation, Dogan, building on previous work by Butler (1980) and Bjorkland and Philbrick (1972), indicates the following responses to tourism: Resistance, retreatism, boundary maintenance and adoption, which approximate Berry & Kim's (1988) modes of marginalisation, separation, integration and assimilation, respectively. Dogan's strategies for adjustment to tourism are as follows:

(1) *Resistance*: In this situation, touristic development results in hostility and aggression towards the tourists. Differences in wealth and lifestyle between the hosts and tourists are evident, and many host peoples are excluded from utilising the tourist facilities. Tourism impacts negatively upon traditional institutions (eg. use of local resources, local control over development etc.), which leads to hostility; the situation is analogous to that of forced cultural loss along with forced exclusion as discussed by Berry and Kim (1988).

(2) *Retreatism*: This occurs when changes produced in a host society as a result of tourism are resisted. The host society retreats into itself, avoids contact with the tourists, while at the same time, reviving cultural and ethnic consciousness. This value of holding on to the indigenous culture while avoiding the dominant culture is analogous to Berry and Kim's definition of separation.

(3) *Boundary Maintenance*: In some communities, tourism is accepted without any resistance or negative feelings. A well defined boundary between the tourist and

host culture is erected, and local traditions are presented to the tourists in such a fashion as not to affect adversely the local culture. This parallels Berry and Kim's definition of integration, in which cultural integrity is maintained with participation in the dominant society.

(4) *Adoption*: In this instance, large sections of the host community do not object to the disintegration of traditional culture and actively seek to mix with and adopt the ways of the tourists. This is similar to Berry and Kim's definition of assimilation.

Dogan's (1989) framework recognises that tourism produces both positive and negative results, but their respective levels vary depending on the socio-cultural structure of the country and touristic development. Various combinations of the four strategies may exist simultaneously within a region, but initial responses during the first stages of tourism tend to be more homogeneous, particularly if the community is rurally based and homogenous itself. As tourism develops, the type of tourist and the cultural distance between the tourists and host community will affect the community's response. As tourism continues to grow a diversity of responses may emerge, and groups with different interests and characteristic responses to tourism may be formed as a result.

(e) **Consequences of Acculturation: Acculturative Stress and Successful Adaptation.** As is evidenced from both Berry and Kim's (1988) and Dogan's (1989) discussions, the acculturation strategy utilised results in very different ways of dealing

with intercultural contact. One of the frequently reported consequences of acculturation is that of societal disintegration and personal crisis. On the socio-cultural level, old patterns of authority, civility and welfare no longer operate; on the individual level, hostility, uncertainty, identity confusion and depression may result (Berry, 1988a & 1990; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988). The consequences for acculturation in the context of tourism are similar,

The changes produced by touristic developments affect people's habits, daily routines, social lives, beliefs and values. Such drastic changes are an important part of psychological tension. People have to develop strategies in order to decrease this state of tension and to continue their effective psychological functioning. Such strategies of adjustment help attenuate the pain resulting from the necessity of changing age-old habits by "limiting, channelling or incorporating the effects of international al tourism" (Wood, 1980 cited in Dogan, 1989, p. 217).

Negative consequences of acculturation occur often, but are not inevitable; the antithesis of the negative consequences is successful adaptation. Acculturative stress, a common negative outcome of acculturation, refers to stress in which the stressors are identified as having their source in the process of acculturation (Berry, 1988a & 1990; Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988). There is often a particular set of stress responses that occur during acculturation. These include lowered mental health status (especially confusion, anxiety and depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, increases in psychosomatic symptomatology and identity confusion. In order to be considered acculturative stress, the stress responses should be related in a systematic way to the identified features of the individual's experience of the acculturation process (Berry, 1988a & 1990; Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988).

Obviously, mental health problems may arise during acculturation, however, these problems are not inevitable and depend on a variety of group and individual characteristics,

(t)hat is, acculturation sometimes enhances one's life chances and mental health and sometimes virtually destroys one's ability to carry on. The eventual outcome for any particular individual is affected by other variables that govern the relationship between acculturation and stress (Berry, 1990, p. 247).

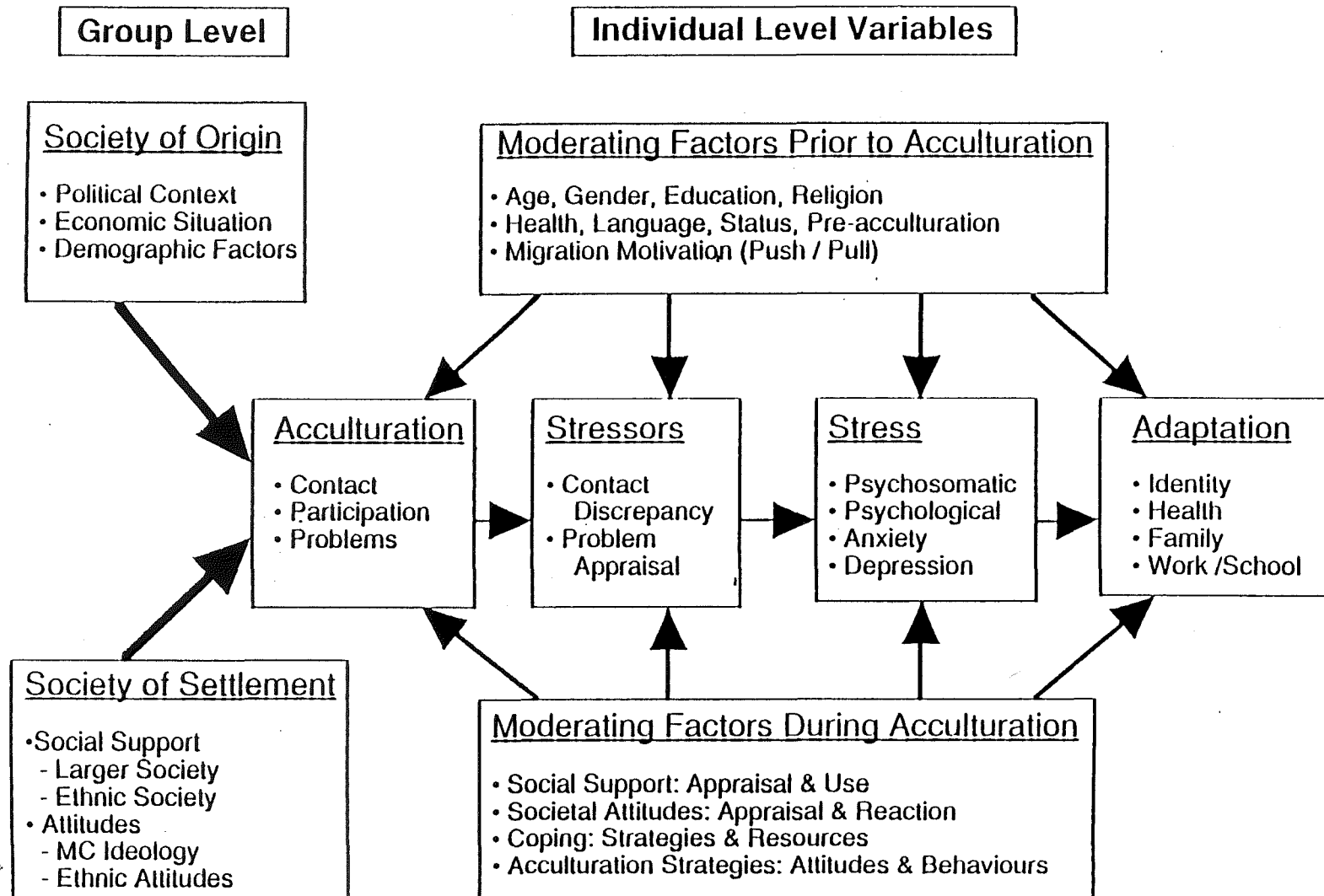
Berry (personal communication, 1990) has proposed a framework for understanding the relationship between acculturation and stress, as moderated by other factors (Figure 1.6)¹. The variables which affect the outcome of the acculturation process may be addressed at two different levels: group level variables and individual level variables.

Group level variables may be further delineated by distinguishing between variables associated with either the dominant group or the acculturating group. The way in which the dominant group exerts its acculturative influences is one variable which needs consideration. One important aspect is the degree of pluralism; culturally plural societies may have a greater tolerance for and acceptance of cultural diversity. This pluralism may be reflected in the society's pattern of specific ethnic and racial attitudes (Berry, 1990). Related to this is the influence of the types of policies regarding the acculturating group (mode of acculturation) that the dominant group

¹ Figure 1.6 was presented as work in progress by J. W. Berry in a lecture on acculturative stress at the University of Canterbury in 1990. I consulted individually with Berry about the framework in relation to this research, and obtained his permission to use it for that purpose.

FIGURE 1.7

Relationships Between Acculturation and Stress, as Moderated by Other Factors (Berry, pers. com., 1990)

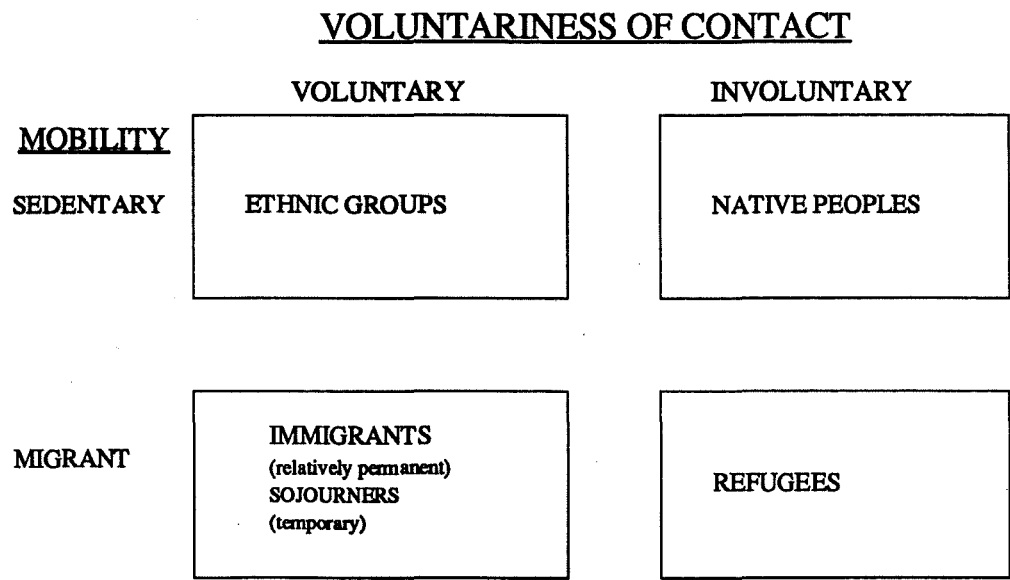


upholds and the availability of social supports for groups experiencing acculturation (Berry, 1990).

There are also social and cultural qualities of the acculturating group that may affect the degree to which acculturative stress is experienced by its members. The political, economic and demographic structure of the acculturating group will affect their ability to achieve successful adaptation; these characteristics contribute to cultural distance between the two groups. Generally, the greater the culture distance, the more difficult the process of acculturation. An additional group level factor to consider with the acculturating group is their acculturation attitudes; those who feel marginalised and those who maintain separation goals tend to be stressed, whereas assimilation and integration tend to lead to lower levels of stress respectively. (Berry, 1988a & 1990; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry, *et al.*, 1988). On the individual level, several factors may moderate in the process of successful or unsuccessful adaptation during acculturation. These factors can be delineated under three separate headings: (1) individual variables prior to acculturation; (2) the individual's experience of acculturation; and (3) individual variables during the acculturation process. The individual factors prior to acculturation include demographic variables such as age, gender, education, religion and health (Berry, 1990; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988). The individual's knowledge of the language of the dominant group, their socio-economic standing and status within their own society, and experiences of pre-acculturation may predispose one to function more effectively under acculturative pressure. Finally, contact motivation (including type of acculturating group), (Figure 1.7) also is a factor in an individual's ability to adapt successfully; those with

high mobility and high voluntariness of contact may experience less difficulty than those with less choice in the matter (Berry, 1988a & 1990; Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988; Berry *et al.*, 1988).

FIGURE 1.7.
Five Types of Acculturating Groups (Berry, 1988a, p. 47).



Central to the framework in Figure 1.6, (Relationships Between Acculturation and Stress, as Moderated by Other Factors), is the process of acculturation as experienced by the individual. As part of the acculturation process, the individual's contact experiences with the dominant culture may account for some of the variations in acculturative stress. The amount of contact, the nature of the contact (pleasant/unpleasant), whether the contact meets the needs of the individual and whether initial encounters are viewed as positive or not may "set the stage" for subsequent encounters, thus affecting the outcome (Berry, 1990). Some aspects of the contact situation may act as stressors for the individual; in essence, it is not the

acculturative changes themselves that are stressors, it is how the individual sees them and what the individual makes of them (Berry, 1990; Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie & Young, 1986). If the changes resulting from acculturation are experienced as stressors, acculturative stress may result. In the proposed framework, this is indicated by the presence of psychosomatic symptoms, depression and anxiety. The degree of success in dealing with the stresses resulting from participating in the acculturation process (adaptation) can be evidenced in the health status, identity, family relationships and work/school situation for the individual.

The final individual level variables to consider are those which have their moderating effect during the process of acculturation. The psychological characteristics of the individual, in particular coping strategies and coping resources, will have an effect on the individual's ability to adapt. In addition, the sense of cognitive control that an individual has over the process of acculturation plays a role; those who perceive the changes as something they can manage may have better mental health than those who feel overwhelmed by them. In addition, appraisal and use of social supports, appraisal and reaction to societal attitudes, and individual acculturation strategies also contribute to an individual's adaptation to acculturation (Berry, 1990; Berry & Kim, 1987 & 1988).

Overall, the literature to date suggests that the relationship between acculturation and stress is probabilistic rather than deterministic; acculturative stress may occur, but it is not inevitable, as there are numerous mediating factors (Berry *et al.*, 1988). Even if acculturative stress does occur, it is not implicit that it is

necessarily a totally negative experience. It can be argued that acculturative stress could be an adaptive psychological state in that it may alert an acculturating population or individual to new situations that require action on their part. Without acculturative stress to act as a warning, hence affecting a response to the stressor, disappearance of a cultural group could be the potential long-term outcome. There may be an optimal level of acculturative stress that could alert a population or individual to impending changes, which in turn may motivate and facilitate an effective response. Too much or too little stress may prevent such long-term adaptation to acculturation (Berry *et al.*, 1988).

(3) Stress and Coping

As discussed above, the psychological characteristics of the individual, especially their ability to cope with stress, play a central role in their ability to adapt successfully during acculturation. In particular, the following features appear to be key aspects contributing to the outcome of acculturation: coping strategies and resources, locus of control, perceived control, self-efficacy, social supports and individualism-collectivism.

(a) Cognitive Theory of Stress and Coping. In accordance with Lazarus' (1966) theory of emotion, the cognitive theory of stress and coping defines stress not as a property of the environment, nor as a stimulus or response, rather, stress is defined as "... a relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and as endangering his or her well-being" (Folkman, 1984, p. 840). Context is critical to this theory of stress, as coping

is assessed as a response to the psychological and environmental demands of specific stressful encounters (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongis & Gruen 1986). The theory identifies two processes, cognitive appraisal and coping, which mediate stressful person-environment relations and their immediate and long term outcomes. There are two types of cognitive appraisal: primary and secondary appraisal. In general terms, cognitive appraisal is a process through which the individual appraises whether a particular encounter with the environment is relevant in terms of his/her well-being. In primary appraisal, the individual evaluates if s/he has anything at stake in the encounter. In secondary appraisal, various coping options are evaluated as to what (if anything) can be done to prevent or overcome harm, or to improve the prospects for benefit in the situation. Subsequently, coping in this sense is process oriented; it has its focus in what the person actually thinks and does in a stressful encounter, and how this changes as the encounter develops. As such, coping is contextual; it is influenced by the individual's appraisal of the situation and his/her resources for managing it. This emphasis on context means that the particular individual and the situational variables shape the coping efforts. According to this framework, coping is not viewed in terms of being "good" or "bad"; coping is defined as the person's efforts to manage demands, regardless of whether or not the efforts are successful. Coping has two major functions: to regulate stressful emotions (emotion-focused coping) and to alter the person-environment relationship causing the stress (problem focused coping). Coping usually includes both of these functions. The outcome of any stressful encounter refers to the individual's evaluation of the extent to which the encounter was solved successfully; the overall judgement is based on the person's own values, goals and expectations of the stressful encounter (Folkman,

1984; Folkman & Lazarus, 1985; Folkman *et al.*, 1986; Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen & DeLongis, 1986). The socio-cultural context is also important to consider in the coping process; culturally based expectations influence what is appraised as being stressful, predisposes individuals to respond to stress in a certain fashion and determines what coping behaviour is appropriate in a given situation (Wong, 1993).

(b) Locus of Control, Perceived Control and Self-Efficacy. Three cognitive constructs appear to be of relevance to the coping process: locus of control, perceived control and self-efficacy. Locus of control (LOC) refers to generalised (rather than situation specific) patterns of attribution with respect to the mediation of reinforcement. An internal LOC refers to the belief that events are contingent upon one's own behaviour; external LOC refers to the belief that events are not contingent upon one's own behaviour, but are the result of luck, fate, chance or powerful others (Rotter, 1966). LOC is among the beliefs that influence primary appraisal in the coping process. If a situation is ambiguous, a generalised belief about control would be translated into an appraisal of controllability in that context. Thus, an individual with an internal LOC would be expected to appraise the situation as controllable, whereas an individual with an external LOC might appraise it as not being controllable (Folkman, 1984). However, if the situation were not ambiguous, it would be expected that beliefs about controllability would be influenced more by situational characteristics than generalised beliefs (Folkman, 1984; Rotter, 1966). Research findings have suggested a link between an external LOC and psychological and mood disturbances (Dyal, 1984; Sandler & Lakey, 1982). The link between LOC and

adaptation is not as clear in the case of acculturation, but an internal LOC may be more conducive to successful psychological adjustment if an individual is adapting successfully to culture change. However, the reverse may be true if the individual is not adapting effectively in the new culture (Ward & Kennedy, 1992). One of the contributing factors to inconsistencies in the cross-cultural research on LOC is that LOC is difficult to conceptualise and operationalise cross-culturally,

It may be that people from different societies have senses of control that are similar at some levels of abstraction and not at others; and in relation to some contexts and not to others. Psychic unity may have to do with the commonality that people attempt to understand and that influences their own destinies in their own historical/cultural context. If so, then our explorations of LOC need to focus on the processes and contingencies relevant to how people do construct their senses of control and in relation to what conceptions of life, circumstances, and reality (Tyler, Dhawan & Sinha, 1989, p.209).

Unlike locus of control, which is a global or dispositional construct, perceived control and self-efficacy are more likely to be relevant to performance in a stressful situation (Litt, 1988; Bandura, 1982). Perceived control can be defined as having the belief that one can influence the aversiveness of a stressful event through one's response; the control need not be exercised, or even be real, it only needs to be believed to exist by the individual (Litt, 1988). Theoretically, it would appear that perceived control should help mediate in a stressful situation, however, providing control or the opportunity for control is not always beneficial. Believing that one can control an event does not always lead to a reduction in stress, nor to a positive outcome. In addition, believing an event is uncontrollable does not always lead to an increase in stress or negative outcome (Folkman, 1984; Litt, 1988). Person variables may affect the desirability of providing control in a stressful situation: the personal meaning or significance of control in relation to what is at stake for the individual in

that particular context; the costs of exercising control to the individual; what facets of the situation are targets of control; and the “fit” between appraisals of controllability and actual characteristics of the situation and between appraisals of controllability and coping all need to be considered (Folkman, 1984).

Closely related to perceived control is self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is important to consider in the context of acculturation as acculturation stresses may diminish personal efficacy; lower levels of personal efficacy has been found to lead to higher levels of depression (Tran, 1993). Self-efficacy is the belief that one has the ability to behave in such a way as to produce desired outcomes. Self-efficacy has several dimensions: the level of efficacy is the individual’s estimate of his/her best performance on a given behaviour; strength is the person’s confidence that s/he can perform at a certain level; and generality refers to whether the sense of efficacy extends beyond the specific context. Given reasonable outcome expectancies, the level and strength of self-efficacy for a particular behaviour determine whether or not the behaviour will be attempted, how much effort will be made and for how long the effort will be sustained (Bandura, 1977). Figure 1.8 illustrates the different psychological effects produced by different patterns of outcome and efficacy beliefs.

In terms of stress and coping, cognitive strategies designed to affect the aversiveness of an event should be effective to the extent that they enhance self-efficacy expectations. Strong situation-specific mastery beliefs have been associated with better psychological adjustment in aversive situations, and may be considered

stress buffers (Felsten & Wilcox, 1992). In situations which are perceived to be

FIGURE 1.8

Interactive Effects of Self-Percepts of Efficacy Response Outcome Expectations on Behaviour and Affective Reactions (Bandura, 1982, p. 140).

		OUTCOME JUDGEMENT	
		-	+
SELF-EFFICACY JUDGEMENT	+	social activism protest grievance milieu change	assured, opportune action
	-	resignation apathy	self-devaluation despondency

uncontrollable, individuals with high efficacy in their general coping skills are likely to persist in their coping efforts, however, it should be noted that this could potentially lead to increased distress in the form of frustration because of longer exposure to the stressor (Litt, 1988).

Although self-efficacy is normally approached as an individual level construct, it can also be viewed as a group level phenomenon called collective efficacy.

Perceived collective efficacy will have an influence on what people choose to do as a group, how much effort they will expend and their “staying power” when efforts fail to produce the desired results. In the face of social change, the higher the degree of

collective efficacy, the greater the propensity to collective social action (Bandura, 1982). In order to use successfully this social action, the group needs to merge diverse self-interests in support of common goals and avoid fractionalisation,

Rapidly changing conditions, which impair the quality of social life and degrade the physical environment, call for wide-reaching solutions to human problems and greater commitment to shared purposes. Such changes can be achieved only through the mutual effort of people who have the skills, the sense of collective efficacy, and the incentives to shape the direction of their future environment (Bandura, 1982, p. 143).

Thus, a general model emerges whereby an internal locus of control, perceived control and self-efficacy (including collective efficacy) may contribute to more successful adaptation in the face of aversive situations.

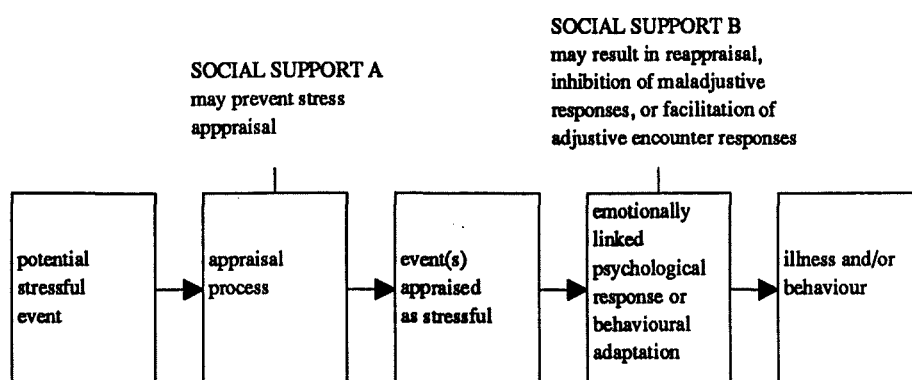
(c) **Social Support.** Another factor which has been identified as contributing to the outcome of acculturation is the appraisal and use of social supports. The role of social support in the process of coping with aversive events can be looked at in terms of having either a main effect or a buffering effect for the individual experiencing a stressful event. Figure 1.9 illustrates the two points at which social support may affect the outcome of a stressful event.

In the first position (Social Support A) in Figure 1.9, social support may intervene between the stressful event and a negative outcome by attenuating or preventing an appraisal of the event as being stressful. Social support at this point may lead the individual to perceive that the necessary resources for coping with the stress are available through their social network. This may redefine the appraised potential for harm posed by the aversive situation, or may increase the individual's

perceived ability and self-efficacy to cope with the situation, thus preventing it from being appraised as highly stressful. Embeddedness in a social network may lead to

FIGURE 1.9

Two Points at Which Social Support May Interfere with the Hypothesised Casual Link Between Stressful Events and Negative Outcomes (Cohen & Wills, 1985, p. 313).



general feelings of stability, predicability and self-worth, thus, belonging to a social network may be beneficial to well-being in ways that do not necessarily involve improved means of coping with stressful events. At the second point (Social Support B in Figure 1.9) social support may act as a buffer between the onset of stress and the eventual outcome by providing a solution to the problem, reducing the perceived importance of the problem, by affecting less physiological stress responses or by facilitating adaptive behaviours. Social support may buffer by providing esteem support, informational support, social companionship or instrumental support. These functions, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, may mitigate the effects of stressful events by counterbalancing threats to self-esteem that often accompany stressful situations, providing information to help reappraise a stressor as benign, suggesting appropriate coping strategies that might counter a perceived lack of control or providing resources or companionship. These resources are responsive to stressful

events and act only in the presence of an elevated stress level. In addition, there needs to be a reasonable match between the coping requirements and the support available for buffering to occur (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Wethington & Kessler, 1986).

Social support therefore, acts in two ways, at two different points, to influence well-being. Specific support functions are responsive to stressful events, thus helping to buffer the individual from aversive outcomes, whereas integration in a social network operates to maintain feelings of stability and well-being irrespective of stress level. Social integration and functional support represent different processes through which social support may influence well-being (Cohen & Wills, 1985).

Social support may also reduce the impact of stress by bolstering internal locus of control beliefs (Krause, 1987; Sandler & Lakey, 1982). For those with internal locus of control, social support may act as a stress buffer (Lefcourt, Martin & Saleh, 1984; Sandler & Lakey, 1982). In some contexts this relationship appears to be non-linear; increases in social support tend to increase feelings of control, but only up to a certain threshold. Beyond a certain point however, additional support may decrease feelings of personal control, thus providing "too much of a good thing" (Krause, 1987; Sandler & Lakey, 1982). This decrease in feelings of personal control due to "too much" social support operates primarily in situations where independence is valued. Some social support helps foster a sense of being able to cope, yet allows the individual to retain their sense of independence. If the critical point for social support is surpassed, the individual may feel dependent, which could lead to a perceived loss of control and an increase in stress (Krause, 1987). This non-linear relationship between

social support and locus of control may only be applicable in cultural situations where independence is valued. The situation for more collectively oriented societies where enmeshment and interdependence is fostered could be quite different.

(d) **Individualism-Collectivism.** Individualism-collectivism is a continuum which can be used to describe cultural variation. In collectivist cultures, ingroup goals have primacy over individual goals and emphasis is placed on individuals subordinating their personal goals to the goals of the collective (Triandis, Brislin & Hui, 1988b; Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990). In a collectivist culture, people represent their groups and in many cases, the individual person is not distinguishable from the group. Those in collectivist cultures identify strongly with their ingroup; they care deeply about events that involve them (Triandis *et al.*, 1988b). Collectivist cultures tend to be hierarchical and people in the culture accept those power differences (Triandis *et al.*, 1988b & 1990). Collectivists dislike interpersonal competition within their group and prefer long-term relationships over short-term,

A frequent complaint of collectivists, after a short-term relationship with an individualist, is that they expected the relationship to go a long way, to become close, and to be long lasting. Instead, the relationship remained superficial and was short-lived (Triandis *et al.*, 1988b, p. 276).

In contrast, people in individualist cultures often have greater skills in entering and leaving new social groups; they make “friends” (meaning non-intimate acquaintances) easily. People in collectivist cultures have fewer skills in making new “friends”, but “friends” to them implies a life-long intimate relationship, with many obligations, thus the quality of the “friendship” is different (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai & Lucca, 1988a). The collectivist values include harmony, saving face, duty towards

parents, modesty, moderation, thrift, equality of distribution of rewards among peers and fulfilment of other's needs. Family attachments tend to be high and familial obligations are felt deeply eg. migrating to another country to send money back home. Status is defined by ascription eg. age, gender and family name. Within the ingroup in collectivist cultures, much of the social behaviour is associative (eg. giving help, support). They are more intimate with ingroup members than outgroup members,

Individualists, tired of competition in a capitalist system, who travel to a collective society expecting to meet cooperative and helpful people, are often rebuffed in their efforts to develop friendships. After all, these individualists are outgroup members in the collective society and so are held at a considerable psychological distance (Triandis *et al.*, 1988b, p. 278).

Individualists on the other hand value personal goals over group goals. They tend to think of the basic unit of analysis as being the individual rather than the group, thus they differ from collectivists on all of the above characteristics (Triandis *et al.*, 1988b & 1990). Table 1.2 details attributes which define individualism and collectivism, as well as their antecedents and consequences.

However, there are individual differences in both collectivist and individualist cultures. Both cultures are comprised of individuals who are allocentric (pay attention to the needs of the group) and idiocentric (pay more attention to their own needs than those of the group). In general, allocentrics serve the needs of others as it gives them personal satisfaction; idiocentric people are more interested in their own needs, and if members of a collectivist culture, they attend to the needs of others out of a sense of obligation. Generally, individuals from urbanised, migrating environments with broad exposure to mass media are more likely to be idiocentric, even if they come from

collectivist cultures. One reason for this is acculturative influences tend to emanate from individualistic cultures (Triandis *et al.*, 1988b).

TABLE 1.2.

Attributes Defining Individualism and Collectivism and Their Antecedents and Consequents (Triandis *et al.*, 1990, p. 102).

Antecedents	Attributes	Consequents
COLLECTIVISM		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unit of survival is food ingroup • Agricultural • Large families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family integrity • Self defined in ingroup terms • Behaviour regulated by ingroup norms • Hierarchy & harmony within ingroup • Ingroup is seen as homogenous • Strong ingroup/outgroup distinctions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialisation for obedience & duty • Sacrifice for ingroup • Cognition: Focus on common elements within ingroup members • Behaviour: Intimate, saving face, reflects hierarchy, social support, interdependence
INDIVIDUALISM		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affluence • Cultural complexity • Hunting/food gathering • Migration • Upper social class • Urbanisation • Exposure to mass media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional detachment from ingroup • Personal goals have primacy over ingroup goals • Behaviour regulated by attitudes & cost-benefit analysis • Confrontation is okay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialisation for self-reliance/independence • Good skills when entering new groups • Loneliness

There appears to be a shift from collectivism to individualism in many parts of the world. The major determinant of this movement is affluence, (primarily the introduction of cash based economies). As people become more affluent, they become financially independent. This may often lead to independence from their groups.

Affluence is also related to industrialisation and complexity of a culture; complex

cultures tend to be more individualistic. In addition, affluence is related to smaller family size. Small families permit parents to raise their child(ren) individually; children of such families tend to be idiocentric. Social and geographic mobility also contribute to individualism. Movement from rural to urban centres, and migration to other countries is correlated with individualism. With this migration, the traditional structure of the intergenerational or extended family is often challenged (Triandis *et al.*, 1990).

Some aspects of collectivism may inhibit economic development, however, this may be related to lower levels of social pathology. Those in collectivist cultures and allocentrics are more likely to receive social support, which acts as a stress buffer in the face of aversive situations (Triandis *et al.*, 1988a). Collectivism also has the effect of emphasising collective coping, which makes it easier for the individual to cope with unpleasant life events (Kashimas & Triandis, 1986; Triandis *et al.*, 1988a).

Collectivism is associated with an emphasis on ingroup harmony, which reduces the stress of everyday life. Collectivism is also associated with lower levels of competitiveness, and thus has an association with greater security about being able to cope. One's position within a collectivist society is pre-determined by birth, age, gender, family etc., so one does not have to compete to gain a position. In addition, stability in self-ingroup relations also may help maintain low levels of stress.

Collectivism may also operate to buffer against stress by providing a particular way of viewing the environment. If an event is appraised as being acceptable, normal, temporary or expected, it will have less stressful consequences, thus stress is partially a function of the way adverse situations are perceived. Obviously, there are

disadvantages in collectivist cultures eg. low levels of economic development, but these factors are remote and less threatening to the individual, therefore less likely to promote high levels of stress. In addition, collectivism may be associated with lower levels of stress, but if the economy of the country cannot support adequate health facilities, the physiological benefits of lower stress may be lost, therefore not reflected in lower rates of pathology and mortality (Triandis *et al.*, 1988a).

(4) Interim Summary

Most of the cross-cultural psychology studies on acculturation and acculturative stress have explored the phenomena in sojourner, migrant, refugee and indigenous populations; very little cross-cultural psychological research has addressed the effects of acculturation on native peoples as a result of tourism. Indeed, “(t)o a large extent, native peoples have ‘belonged’ to anthropologists as a research topic; their research interests have been primarily in ethnographic materials, as distinct from individual-psychological ones” (Berry, *et al.*, 1988, p. 225). The social psychological, sociological, geographical and anthropological literature, as discussed above, has pointed to primarily negative socio-cultural effects as a result of tourism in developing countries. However, the specific psychological effects of acculturation on the individual in the host population remain relatively unexplored. It would appear from the literature that acculturative stress resulting from acculturation in the context of tourism is not inevitable. The probability of its occurrence may be reduced if participation in the dominant society and maintenance of one’s cultural heritage are encouraged by policy and practice in the larger acculturative context. Several other factors may also intervene in the process, as was discussed above. Individual and

cultural differences, as well as the larger context of global socio-cultural change, need to be accounted for to gain a more comprehensive representation of the socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism.

IV. PSYCHOLOGY AND POLYNESIAN CULTURES

(1) The Collective Context

Certain characteristics of a culture may predispose its members to cope in certain ways, or to adapt more or less successfully, to the pressures of acculturation. The cultural context in which the individual lives may influence the process of coping by determining the individual cognitive representation of self and by regulating interpersonal behaviour in a fashion that moderates the coping process (Kirmayer, 1989). Polynesian countries have experienced radical culture change (as a result of changes in technology, economy, religion and political organisation) for in excess of 100 years. Although these changes have affected almost every area of life, important aspects of Polynesian personality remain resilient to these acculturative influences (Crocombe, 1989; Levy, 1973).

Polynesian cultures are collectively oriented (Triandis *et al.*, 1988b). To Polynesians, one's identity is embedded in social relations and community. To set one's self apart through blatant displays of individual personal achievement is likely to

meet with disapproval; achievements should be communicated in subtle and indirect ways. This is not to say that achievement *per se* is not valued, rather that,

Polynesians admire individuals who express a strong sense of independence while acknowledging community consensus, who can deal with the politics of status effectively, who are able to fulfil the obligations of membership in a community with generosity and humility, who accept authority but know how to manipulate it, and who can tolerate conflict and ambiguity while adapting to change (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1989, p. 107).

Learning these techniques of balancing individual interests against those of the community through respecting and acknowledging the strategies of others, comes from complex socialisation and continuous learning throughout the lifespan (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1989).

(2) Reciprocity, Generosity, Aroa and Mana

The lessons of sharing with the group are learned at an early age. Reciprocity is a concept that is instilled from an early age through the process of socialisation. For Polynesian children, reciprocity has a positive strategic value. By willingly sharing what s/he has, the child learns that it is increasingly likely that s/he will obtain a reasonable distribution of awards through time (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1989). These traditional child rearing practices tend to produce young people who may lack confidence in themselves as individuals, but have increased confidence as members of groups. This early socialisation teaches them that rewards come from conformity (Crocombe, 1989).

Many visitors to Polynesian countries have been impressed by the friendliness, generosity and bountiful hospitality they have received. This level of community

participation and sharing of resources is rarely seen in Western cultures. This form of generosity is known as *aroa* in Cook Islands Maori (*aroha* in New Zealand Maori; *aloha* in Hawaiian; *alofa* in Samoan; *fakalofa* in Niuean and *ofa* in Tongan). *Aroa* is one of the characteristics of Polynesia and “..., (it) permeates the complete scene. Upon it rests (their) whole way of life” (Rere, 1976, p. 24). *Aroa* has several connotations: it means love, kindness and generosity; it is used as a form of greeting and farewelling; and it also represents an attitude to generosity, particularly towards strangers (Rere, 1976), and is “... the unconditional desire to promote the true good of other people ...with no conditions attached” (K. Akaka quoted in Maly, 1993, p. 5). Such generosity traditionally helped to build and maintain a network of reciprocal obligations on which one could draw at a later time (Graves & Graves, 1978; Kirch, 1984). The obligations of reciprocity are strong, with an emphasis on generosity. It is, however, the responsibility of the receiver to reciprocate at an appropriate time and in an appropriate way (Crocombe, 1976). This type of reciprocity contributes to an egalitarian group atmosphere and an ambience of agreeable sociability (Howard, 1974). This Polynesian system of mutual interdependence creates patterns of behaviour that are not easily changed, even when non-reciprocation produces resentment. However, although generosity represents the traditional ideal in Polynesia for conducting interpersonal relationships, a strategy of “equalisation” represents an acceptable alternative in contemporary Polynesian society. Dividing things equally may not create as strong reciprocal obligations, but it avoids jealousies and conflict (Graves & Graves, 1978).

One of the common strategies in Polynesian culture for coping with aversive situations and conflict is avoidance. Avoidance helps minimise overt interpersonal conflict and social disharmony. Although avoidance may create ambiguity, which may subsequently foster misunderstandings, it remains an efficient means of keeping conflict out of a community's collective social life. For a collectivist society in which it is desirable to maintain affiliation with the ingroup, covert conflict is less threatening than open confrontations, as the latter force individuals to take sides, which could endanger the harmony of the group. Covert confrontation also gives assurance that the individual will not be publicly embarrassed, (as long as s/he stays within the bounds of social propriety). It thus allows people to avoid using personal defenses and favours the establishment of intense interpersonal commitments. It is characteristic of Polynesian communities for interpersonal commitments to have minimal contingencies and to be "whole hearted", so conflict avoidance is well adapted to the aims of affiliation and ingroup harmony. Although this strategy may help maintain and support group cohesion, it is not well suited for competitive success within an individualistic, acquisitive society (Crocombe, 1989; Howard, 1974). Overall, many Polynesians learn to cope with problems more by relying on subtle interpersonal strategies rather than personal assets (material or non-material) as compared with middle-class Caucasians (Howard, 1974).

Another important concept in Polynesian culture is that of *mana*. An understanding of *mana* is important in understanding power and authority in Polynesian culture, the mechanisms of social organisation and control, and the development of the personality. *Mana* does not have an exact Western or English

equivalent, but it can be understood as connoting power, authority or prestige, as well as having spiritual and supernatural connotations (Gilson, 1977; Kauraka, 1991; Sachdev, 1989). The basis of *mana* is “love, faith and hope” (Kauraka, 1991, p. 4). In addition, *mana* may be success or achievement oriented and is contextual in its use. Traditionally, *mana* could be built up from a variety of sources: it could be inherited from the ancestors; given directly from the gods; acquired through the land; or appropriated through great achievement. Just as *mana* could be attained through these various means, it could also be lost. In contemporary Polynesian society, *mana* may be achieved through non-traditional spheres, such as becoming a doctor, lawyer or scholar (Sachdev, 1989). Additionally, material wealth may also be used to estimate the degree of *mana* a person might have; with more material possessions, one may exert decisions upon others (Kauraka, 1991). However, the *mana* achieved in these ways is not of the same standing as that obtained through traditional activities. In this way, the community may be discriminating in its sanction and censure of achievement oriented behaviour; excessive ambition for personal gain may meet with disapproval, thus the degree of acceptable ambition may be equated with the degree of *mana* already held (Gilson, 1977). The behaviour expected of a person with *mana* further helps ascertain the ideal that the community desires (Sachdev, 1989).

In addition to being a personal quality *mana* can also describe a place or thing, “(a) place has its own ‘feel’ not only because you project feelings on to it, but because it has its own memory bank, its own energy, or *mana*, ... Special places are special because they have more *mana*” (Kanahele, 1993, p. 7).

(3) Acculturation in the South Pacific

Acculturation has occurred in the South Pacific for many years and has come from many sources. The influence of colonisation, modernisation, mass media, immigration, returning migrants and education have all had great impact on the cultures of Polynesia. In particular, of all the above the recent wide availability of videos has been deemed as one of the “most destructive” influences on contemporary Polynesian culture. Due to the unavailability of network television, limited reading matter and a paucity of other entertainment, videos have had a significant impact in the South Pacific, bringing the seemingly “worst” of Western culture into the living rooms of Polynesians throughout the South Pacific (Crocombe, 1989).

The introduction of wage economies in the South Pacific has been met with positive response due to the rise in standard of living. However, this move to waged employment has led to a shift from collectivism towards individualism in many traditional pursuits, such as working on family plantations, and has subsequently resulted in the breakdown of cooperative village activities and an increase in interpersonal tensions. The new economic independence has also led to the diminishing of other collectivist characteristics such as economic interdependence and informal conflict resolution (Graves & Graves, 1979). Some islanders welcome these changes as an opportunity to escape what they feel are unreasonable obligations imposed on them by the family and community, “(g)reater individual independence, with its potential for selfishness, is a Western luxury many Polynesians are glad to be able to afford” (Graves & Graves, 1978, p. 116).

Research in the Cook Islands on the effects of acculturation found that young men and women living in Western style nuclear families, who were involved in wage economies, had had higher education or had visited New Zealand, were more likely to demonstrate interpersonal rivalry (Graves & Graves, 1979). The researchers concluded that this interpersonal rivalry was a Western import, and that the schools were a major vehicle for its inculcation. However, although rivalry was found to be a Western import, generosity was presented as the preferred mode of interpersonal relations in that (Cook Island) context. It was felt that rivalry was a non-voluntary by-product of involvement in modern institutions and activities; a rivalrous predisposition was learned through competitive situations fostered by a Western system of education, and was sustained by a modern economic system which had reduced social interdependence. One of the more undesirable effects of the emerging individualistic patterns and the cash economy was that anything requiring effort was evaluated in terms of remuneration. There was concern that traditional activities, such as dancing, would only be engaged in for money, rather than enjoyment (Graves & Graves, 1978).

Additional research conducted in the Cook Islands found that contact with New Zealand and the growing importance of a cash based economy was having a profound effect on traditional patterns of leadership and social influence. Leadership roles in Polynesia were traditionally delineated through blood lines, and this continues to a certain extent throughout the South Pacific. In contemporary Polynesian societies some leadership roles, such as village and island council members, are gained through an election process. Traditionally, leadership and influence normally came with age and wisdom, however, with the influence of modernisation, young men, who have

greater formal education and skill in their use of English, have tended to be elected into positions of influence. Thus Westernisation was found to be an increasingly important criterion for receiving this form of community recognition (Graves & Graves, 1979). This subtle shift in modal personality may depict a redefinition of the ideal qualities that are representative of *mana*, which could potentially have a profound effect on the structure of a Polynesian society.

However, despite this growing tendency for Western influences to foster more economically oriented, individualistic, competitive spirit, many of the Islanders were found to be successfully acquiring the advantages of modern life without taking on these Western personality characteristics; they were modernising without Westernising. One interpretation of this is that there may be parallel systems of reinforcement operating simultaneously: a traditional reward system based on recognition as a community leader and the sociocentric personal characteristics associated with leadership; and a modern reward system based on a person's position within the money economy, and related variables such as education and travel to New Zealand. However, this could potentially lead to conflict between the two systems as increasingly the new leadership lack the traditional skills that help to sustain a close-knit interdependent society. Of the subjects found to be modernising, those who did retain their traditional group orientation reported substantially fewer health symptoms than other modernising subjects (Graves & Graves, 1979). In terms of acculturation, contemporary Polynesians face a wider range of problems than previous generations, but they have at their disposal a greater range of cultural options to deal with them (Howard, 1974). Polynesians may possess a type of "deep structure" which allows

them to adapt to new influences, yet retain, perhaps even reinforce, their vitality and coherence (Harrison, 1992). Polynesians have historically chosen to incorporate differences into their culture and use them as a means of “keeping options open”; solutions to difficulties are tentative and subject to reformulation as conditions change (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1989). This and other research indicates that the collective orientation of South Pacific cultures and its concomitant social support, and characteristics of Polynesian peoples may moderate the negative effects of acculturation in Polynesian societies (Graves & Graves, 1979; Howard, 1974; Janes & Pawson, 1986; Murphy & Taumopeau, 1980).

V. TOURISM AND ACCULTURATION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

Tourism and acculturation in the South Pacific has many similar features to tourism and acculturation in general, (as discussed previously). As with the previous discussion on acculturation and tourism, tourism cannot be associated with all the problems experienced as a result of acculturation in the South Pacific; tourism is only one agent of change in a region that is experiencing increasing and rapid modernisation. Visitors to the Pacific Islands are not a new phenomenon, nor are the acculturative impacts they effect. Even Captain James Cook lamented the acculturative changes his visits brought upon the people of Polynesia,

... we debauch their morals ... and we introduce among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew and which serve only to disturb that happy tranquillity they and their forefathers had enjoyed (Moorhead, 1966, p. 55-56).

However, contemporary tourism poses some unique acculturative influences in Polynesia, which may not necessarily be shared with other developing countries' experience of tourism.

The nations of the South Pacific have few resources, and because of their colonial history, small size and distance from major markets, they have a small indigenous capital base. This makes them reliant on foreign powers to provide capital for economic development. Because of their limited economic resources, many Pacific nations have embraced tourism as a means of increasing their export earnings. In global terms, the South Pacific region accounts for only 0.15 percent of the world's international tourist arrivals, but this small number is enough for tourism to be the mainstay of the region's economy and the major provider of employment in many of the nations (Hall, 1994). Remote islands are at particular risk to sudden change, and anything more than a few outsiders may pose a threat to culture (deKadt, 1976; Farrell, 1979). The remoteness and isolation of the Pacific Islands has led to a unique cultural coherence which is a mixture of traditional custom and internalised values derived from past acculturation eg. colonisation, missionaries etc.; it is feared that tourism could have a negative impact upon this (Farrell, 1979). One of the main concerns is that Western tourists are coming into contact with Pacific people whose life model is not constructed in the highly "specialised" manner of the Westerners. It is not a matter of technology or education (as with other acculturative influences), but a fundamental one concerning the different cognitive styles between the two cultures. Pacific Islanders tend to be intuitive, non-verbal and more holistic in their processing of information, which differs from a traditional Western cognitive style (Farrell, 1997);

the alternative cognitive style of Westerners may be difficult for Pacific Islanders to understand (Biddlecomb, 1981; Farrell, 1982).

Tourism is often viewed as a destructive acculturative influence and as a vehicle for "Westernisation" or "Japanesisation" in the Pacific region, which may be quite different to the "Pacific way" to modernisation more in keeping with the local culture, needs and cognitive style (Minerbi, 1992). Tourism, the fastest growing industry in the South Pacific, has been accused of turning the islands into

a giant Disneyland and the Islanders into well trained puppets, whose life and behaviour are fashioned to fulfil the dream expectations of the travelling public from the richer nations (by investing) vast sums on the planned creation of largely spurious images of primitiveness, condescending notions of simplicity, and the exaggeration of differences (Crocombe, 1989, p. 32-33).

The influence of tourism in the South Pacific extends beyond just contact with tourists; many Pacific nations now incorporate tourism into school curriculum, some having it as a compulsory part of children's education eg. as found in the curricula in American Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook Islands.

Tourism has been indicted as being a precursor to change in areas as diverse as value systems, individual behaviour, collective lifestyles, family relationships, creative expression, traditional ceremonies, community organisation and the quality of island life in general (Fox, 1975; Ikeda & Collison, 1990). It has been reported as having imposed increasing strain on traditional customs and ways of life, contributing to urban drift and causing stress as a result of the impact of the introduction of a monetised economy (Thomas, 1970 cited in Fox, 1975). Tourism is also accused of affecting the

(i) it is the host, by virtue of his or her connectedness with the place, who defines the protocol or nature of the relationship between host and guest... But, however that is defined, the host's only reason for being is to be hospitable to the guest (Kanahele, 1993, p. 7).

When a visitor to an island is not differentiated as a tourist and is seen as a "guest", cultural obligation dictates that generosity be extended to the visitor. This in itself is not problematic, however, generosity in a traditional Polynesian context, as discussed above, is about investment in human relationships; it is about establishing an obligation which will be reciprocated in the future. However, in a tourism context this is seldom understood, or reciprocated by the tourist (Scott, 1991b). Tourists may unwittingly convert this system of social exchange into "unwilling altruism" by stepping in and out of the community without fulfilling expected reciprocal obligations (deKadt, 1976). This has led to the exploitation of the *aroa* concept ("institutionalised *aroa*"), which could potentially cut deeply into the traditions of Pacific Islanders which are vital to the psychological well-being and group coherence of island societies (Britton, 1987). Traditional generosity may be taken for naïveté and Islanders may come to be taken advantage of; inevitably, this would result in disillusionment and resentment (deKadt, 1976).

(b) **The Effects of Commercialisation.** The concept of *aroa* could also be affected by the commercialisation or commodification of hospitality and generosity, as discussed previously. As long as tourism's first concern is with money, the relationship between tourist and host will reflect this; the tourist will want the best "value for money" and the host will want the most dollars for the "hospitality" (*aroa*)

mental health of Islanders by supporting prostitution and alcoholism, and encouraging begging through the introduction of tipping (Fox, 1975; Urbanowicz, 1989). The use of sacred ceremonies as part of tourist entertainment is felt to undermine cultural identity and dignity and to change the meaning, purpose and function of the ceremonies for the participants (Crocombe, 1989; Fox, 1975).

There are several features of tourism and acculturation specific to the South Pacific which need to be discussed when considering the impacts of tourism; they are considered below.

(1) The Concept of Tourism in the South Pacific.

Despite the traditional generosity of Pacific Islanders, and the fact that many Islanders themselves travel, tourism in the South Pacific is not an indigenous practice, and is alien to indigenous ways (Biddlecomb, 1981; Farrell, 1982; Minerbi, 1992; Patterson, 1993). Although the terms “tourist” and “tourism” may be common in the dialogue of Pacific Islanders, it may be ethnocentric to assume that they have the same meaning to Islanders (Lanfant, 1993); the concepts may not necessarily be incorporated into their own systems of social categorisation (Ross, 1991). In some cultures, “outsiders” in general are not differentiated from tourists. Sometimes researchers who are researching tourism are themselves mistaken for tourists by the locals (Lanfant, 1993). In pointing out that tourism and tourist are not necessarily etic concepts, it is not to say that the concept of travel itself is not an etic. Arguably, all cultures engage in travel of some form, and many cultures engage in travel as a leisure

pursuit, as opposed to travel as a necessity, such as with a nomadic subsistence based culture or for trading purposes. However, travel as a form of leisure based behaviour appears as though it may be an emic in Western culture. Many Polynesians do engage in a type of leisure travel, and although it bears some resemblance to Western style of travel eg. travel is often by means of purchased modern transportation such as by plane, it differs in that it lacks the clear commodification of hospitality and interpersonal relationships that is the hallmark of Western style tourism. In contrast, travel for many Pacific Islanders often involves travelling in groups to meet and stay with members of the extended family or friends. Often the travel has a specific purpose, such as attending a wedding, funeral, sporting event or such. Hospitality is generally reciprocated by means such as gifts (food, crafts, etc.), a financial contribution to the hosts, or by hosting in return. It is implicitly understood that cultural obligation dictates that at some point in the future, the hosts will be appropriately reciprocated for their hospitality (Beaglehole, 1957; Ross, 1991; Stephenson, 1979).

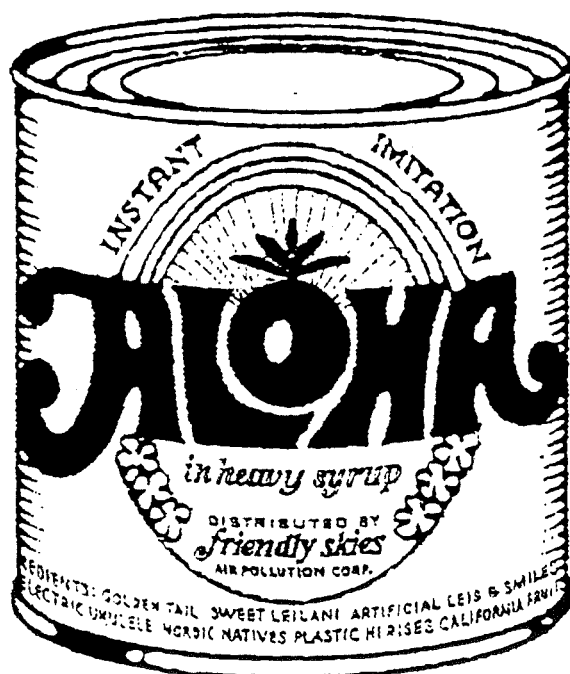
(a) **The Effect of Tourism on Aroa** . Because tourism is not an indigenous practice, in many parts of the Pacific, particularly those 'new' to tourism, there is not a clear conceptualisation of what a tourist is. Tourists in many parts of the South Pacific are hosted as though they are a "guest" or "visitor" rather than a tourist (Vusoniwailala, 1980). As discussed above, much social interaction in the South Pacific is based on the concepts of social obligation, including generosity, reciprocity and *aroa*. The act of welcoming a guest is an essential part of being a host in Polynesian society; not to do so may seem inhospitable,

given (Biddlecomb, 1981). The effects of this could be very pronounced in the South Pacific due to the intrinsic cultural value of *aloha* (Foster, 1964)(Figure 1.10).

FIGURE 1.10

Don't Buy *Aloha* (Crocombe, 1989, p. 146)

DON'T BUY



please don't visit Hawaii

until we are able to save what's left!

Resort-travel-land interests are
ruining us - and our islands - to get
your money. Prices, taxes soar; wages
diminish. You can't buy ALOHA!

Honolulu, Hawaii
HAWAII RESIDENTS BUREAU

Indeed, the question of tourism's acculturative influence on the South Pacific is inseparable from the question of the economic impact. The most evident impact of tourism in the South Pacific is the intensification of the change from a primarily non-monetary, subsistence agricultural economy to a wage based, profit motivated tertiary activity. The profit, accumulation and investment motivation of tourism is in direct conflict with the collectively oriented, sharing ethic of many Pacific Islanders (Goodman, 1977; Rajotte & Crocombe, 1980). Cash economies and private ownership of property are traditions largely alien to many cultures in Polynesia, however, they are the traditions on which Western tourism is based. Because of the distance to the South Pacific from the major tourist generating nations, many of the tourists to the Pacific are from the upper socio-economic classes (Cook Islands Visitor Survey, 1988; deKadt, 1979). When this type of leisure expenditure occurs in societies which have been traditionally non-monetarily based,

(t)he dollar, the pound and the yen could turn out to be...quite as destructive as the syphilis and the tuberculosis that decimated the region's population in the eighteenth century...(t)he cliché that 'money is the root of all evil' acquires new force in societies where money was not an important feature of community relations before the advent of tourism(deKadt, 1976, p. 165).

"Oversimplified, the more money, the less culture" (Crocombe, 1989, p.65); the perceived negative effects of the introduction of a moneyed economy into Polynesia cannot be overstated. Although tourism is not the sole agent for the promotion of a cash based economy, the reliance of Pacific nations' economies on tourism indicates that tourism is one of the dominant means for its introduction. Not

only can commercialisation resulting from tourism affect *aroa*, it may also affect hierarchical social structures, hence affecting *mana*. It is not the money *per se* that affects the changes, it is the way in which the money is injected into the economies through tourism that creates the impacts (Farrell, 1982; Kirch, 1984). Individual entrepreneurship may affect traditional collectively based societies by emphasising personal gain over group benefit. In addition, as traditionally subservient people gain waged employment, they may supersede, in terms of power and respect, those who would normally be in a superior position to them (Farrell, 1982; Goodman, 1977; Harrison, 1992). Another effect that tourism may have on *mana* involves the production of traditional artwork and crafts. If art objects become produced for tourism (souvenirs), rather than for their traditional uses, the system of societal rights to make ornaments may be destroyed, as could the status (*mana*) of the traditional artisans. Difficulty, and a possible shift in *mana* arise because the people who now produce the art primarily for tourism (rather than through traditional right), acquire money and power through selling them (Mackenzie, 1977). Thus, with the shift towards value placed on financial gain, those who are able to do well economically may also gain in terms of *mana*. Anything which alters these traditional hierarchical structures potentially threatens community social cohesion and function. A breakdown in this cohesion will invariably affect other aspects of communal life (Liew, 1977).

In summary, the relationship between tourism and acculturation in the South Pacific is complicated and multifaceted. It is dependent on complex relationships between: the nature and characteristics of Western tourism; social and psychological attributes of Polynesians; the stage of development and type of tourism in an area; the

local conceptualisation of tourism and tourists; and the economic reliance on tourism. Tourism provides a means for economic improvement in the South Pacific and facilitates modernisation; some of this results in negative impacts, but in many cases it does not. It appears that socio-psychological aspects of Polynesian culture may moderate some of the stressful features of tourism in the South Pacific.

VI. TOURISM AND THE COOK ISLANDS

(1) The Cook Islands

The Cook Islands are situated virtually in the centre of the Polynesian triangle; the islands are south of the equator, slightly east of the International Date Line and about midway between American Samoa and Tahiti. The country is comprised of fifteen islands, geographically divided into the Southern and Northern Groups, spread over 2,000,000 square kilometres of the Southern Pacific Ocean (Figure 1.11). The total land area for all fifteen islands is 244 square kilometres. Rarotonga, with a land area of 67 square kilometres is the administrative centre of the Cook Islands. The total population of the Cook Islands is approximately 17,000 with most of the population living on Rarotonga (population 9678), and 90 percent of the population living in the Southern group of islands (Douglas & Douglas, 1989; Smith, 1991; Wheeler & Keller, 1989).

The indigenes of the Cook Islands, the Cook Island Maoris, share a common heritage with other peoples of Polynesia. Over 90 percent of the population of the

FIGURE 1.11.

The Cook Islands (Map 1) (Wheeler & Keller, 1939, p.7).

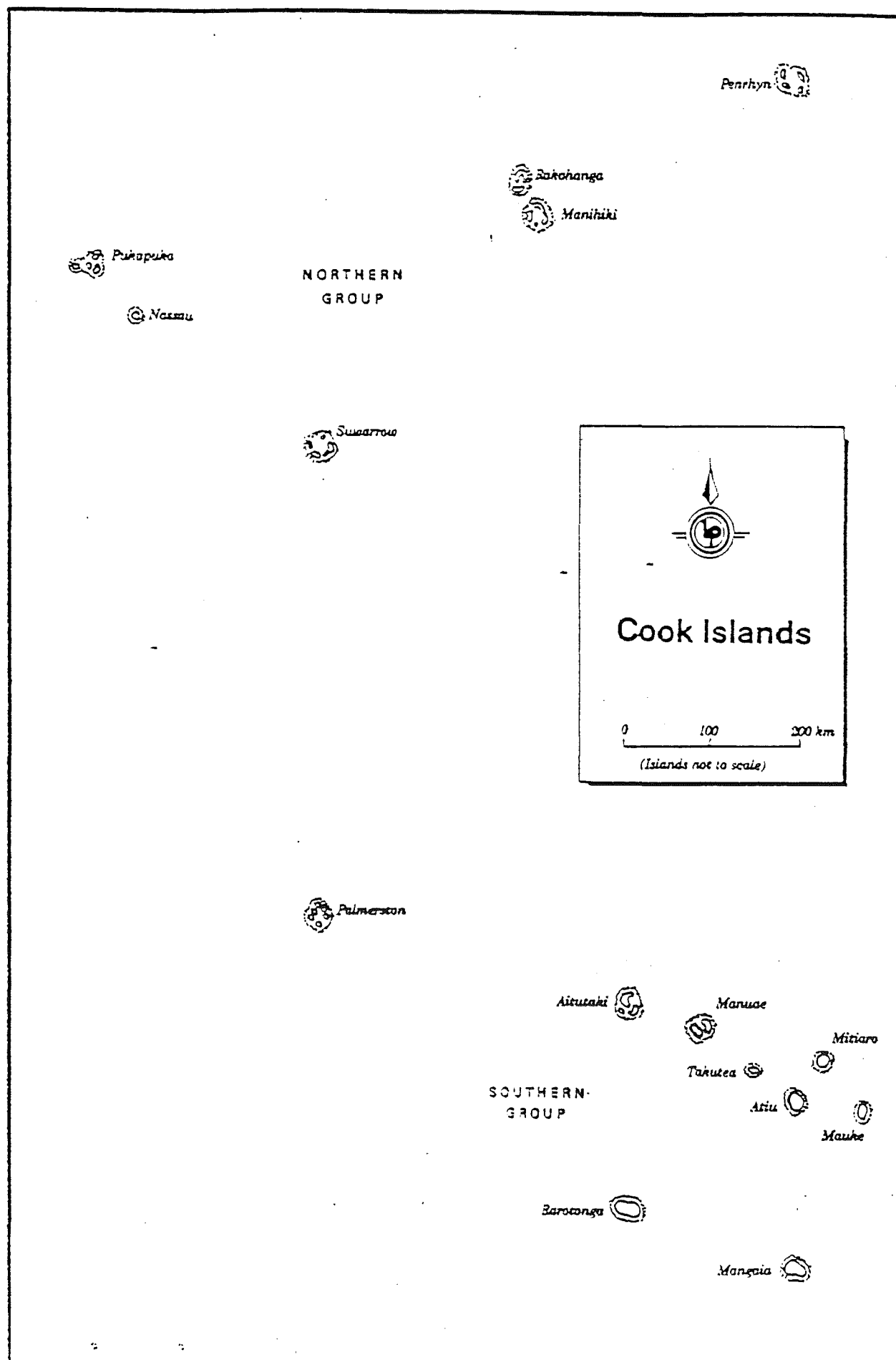
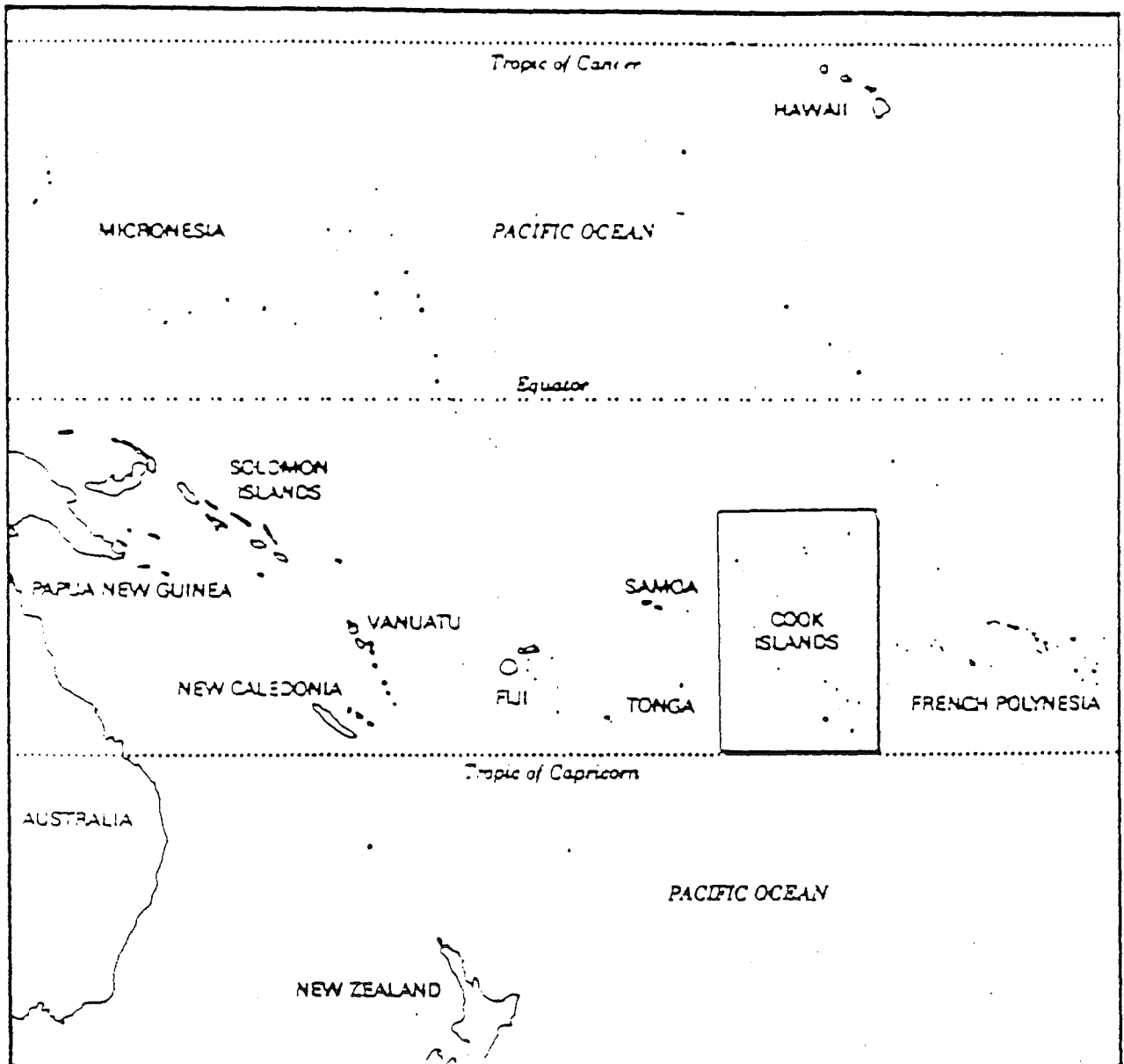


FIGURE 1.11.

The Cook Islands (Map 2) (Wheeler & Keller, 1989, p. 9).



Cook Islands are Polynesian; there are a small minority of Europeans (mainly New Zealanders) and Chinese. The official language of the islands is Cook Island Maori, but English is spoken widely (Douglas & Douglas, 1989; Smith, 1991; Wheeler & Keller, 1989).

The Cook Islands economy depends on tourism, agriculture and foreign aid. Some money is earned through the export of Cook Islands made goods and the provision of "off-shore tax haven" services for international corporations; a smaller amount is earned through the sale of postage stamps (Douglas & Douglas, 1989; Smith, 1991; Wheeler & Keller, 1989). The economic development of the Cook Islands has been hindered by several factors: limited land area, geographic distance between the islands, small population, distance to major markets, irregular transport, fragmented domestic market, scarcity of raw materials, and relatively high labour costs. The agricultural and manufacturing sectors have declined in importance over the past two decades, however, agriculture remains the major productive sector, employing approximately 20 percent of the labour force. Economic growth in the past ten years can be attributed to growth in the service sector, primarily tourism (RPT Economic Studies Group (RPTEG), 1991).

Historically, the Cook Islands have been exposed to a broad range of acculturative influences starting with those of European explorers. These early explorers had minimal impact on the islands; it was the arrival of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in their wake that had a profound acculturative influence on the people and culture of the Cook Islands. The missionaries resettled Cook Islanders

in coastal villages; 'clothed' them, introduced basic laws and formal courts, created a written alphabet and vocabulary based on the Rarotongan language and established schools for the islanders. The influence of these early missionaries continues today with the Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC), which is an offspring of the original Christian faith established by the missionaries. Sixty percent of Cook Islanders belong to the CICC, with the remaining 40 percent belonging to the Roman Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist and Mormon churches. The church continues to wield great influence throughout the Cook Islands to this day; fishing, swimming and working are still largely prohibited on a Sunday, particularly outside Rarotonga (Douglas & Douglas, 1987 & 1989; Rere, 1976; Scott, 1991a; Smith, 1991; Wheeler & Keller, 1989).

Colonisation also had acculturative influences on the Cook Islands. The Cook Islands became a British protectorate in 1888 and were annexed to New Zealand in 1901. Cook Islanders fought in both the World Wars, and during World War II, approximately 1,000 Americans were stationed on Aitutaki and Penrhyn (Douglas & Douglas, 1987 & 1989; Smith, 1991; Wheeler & Keller, 1989). The influence of these American servicemen on Aitutaki has had long lasting effects on Aitutaki in particular; an area of the island is still colloquially referred to as "Hollywood" due to the number of part-European residents named after popular Hollywood stars of the War era .

The Cook Islands gained independence from New Zealand in 1965, but has maintained a close association with New Zealand. Cook Islanders hold New Zealand citizenship and may enter New Zealand at will. In the year 1936, the number of Cook Islanders residing in New Zealand was 103 (Beaglehole, 1957); the number of Cook

Islanders residing in New Zealand now numbers around 23,000, with only 17,000 Cook Islanders remaining in the Cook Islands. Many travel regularly between the Cook Islands and New Zealand, and are often an important source of income for family continuing to reside in the Cook Islands (Scott, 1991a; Scott, 1991c; Smith, 1991; Wheeler & Keller, 1989; Douglas & Douglas, 1987). The return of these Cook Islanders who reside overseas is probably the most influential form of acculturation in contemporary Cook Island society (Cowan, 1975; Ingram, 1992; Liew, 1977; Okotai, Henderson & Fogelberg, 1982; "Why is a Visitor", 1981). The association with New Zealand also brought to the Cook Islands an educational system based on New Zealand standards and an emphasis on the use of English. English is perceived by many to be the 'power' language, so its use, particularly by children, is often encouraged to the detriment of the use of Cook Islands Maori. In addition, media have had an acculturative influence in the Cook Islands. The first radio broadcast station was established in 1954, and a private FM station was established in the 1970's. Although they have a large component of local programming, some broadcasting material is received from abroad (Ingram, 1992). The daily newspaper, *The Cook Islands News*, was started in the 1950s and was privatised in 1989. The first daily television service was introduced to Rarotonga in 1989 and extended to Aitutaki in 1991, with plans for extension to all the islands (Ingram, 1992). At one point, the Cook Islands boasted the highest *per capita* number of theatre seats in the world ("Why is a Visitor", 1981), however, the ubiquitous influence of videos has likely to have surpassed movies as an acculturative influence (Scott, 1991a).

In keeping with the Cook Islands' colonial history, the country has a Westminster parliamentary system. Parliament, which is situated in Rarotonga, has two houses: a Legislative Assembly with twenty-four elected members; and the (upper) House of *Ariki*, comprised of the hereditary paramount chiefs of the islands (*Ariki*). Members of the House of *Ariki* have minimal legal power; their role is advisory. They are consulted on matters involving land, customs and traditions. The *Koutu Nui* (Great Court), made up of chiefs and sub-chiefs (*mataiapo* and *rangatira*, respectively), also have influence in areas of land, customs and traditions (Douglas & Douglas, 1987 & 1989; Smith, 1991; Wheeler & Keller, 1989). The development of democracy in the Cook Islands has led to the erosion of the above traditional political systems. The traditional leaders have gradually lost status, political and economic power, control of major resources (eg. land), and social controls (eg. discipline), respect and their roles as spiritual leaders. The *Ariki* in the outer islands hold more prestige and status in their communities than they do in Rarotonga (Ingram, 1992). Outside of Rarotonga, each island has an appointed Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), who represents the national government, and an elected Island Council which governs local affairs.

(2) Tourism in the Cook Islands

Large scale tourism is a relatively recent phenomenon in the Cook Islands, however, tourism on a smaller scale has a longer history. As early as 1885 the Cook Islands were being promoted as a tourist destination. In that year, an Auckland Chamber of Commerce delegation stopped at Rarotonga during the course of a South Pacific trade reconnaissance. They issued an enthusiastic report about economic opportunities in Rarotonga, including the possibility of the development of a health or

tourist resort (Scott, 1991a). Accounts of Rarotonga as a tourist destination were published as early as 1906 when travel writer Beatrice Grimshaw wrote of Rarotonga,

Everyone has seen Rarotonga, though few travellers have looked on it with their own mortal eyes. Close your eyelids, and picture to yourself a South Sea island, ... Dagger-shaped peaks, of splendid purple and gorgeous green, set in a sky of flaming sapphire- sheer grey precipices, veiled with dropping wreaths of flowery vine and creeper- gossamer shreds of cloud, garlanded untrodden heights, high above an ocean of stainless blue- shadowy gorges, sweeping shoreward from the unseen heart of the hills- white foam breaking upon white sand on the beach, and sparkling sails afloat in the bay...a faithful portrait of Rarotonga, the jewel of the Southern Seas (Grimshaw, 1906, p. 50).

In the same year (1906) the six-room Hotel Rarotonga was built to encourage a tourist industry. Despite this, tourism grew very slowly in the Cook Islands; those few tourists who came arrived from New Zealand and the USA on freighters of the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand and the Matson Line of the USA. In the 1950's the introduction of the 'Coral Route' flying boat service introduced tourism to Aitutaki, even though it was only a brief re-fuelling stop (Crocombe, 1992). It was not until 1968 that the New Zealand Tourism and Publicity Department and Air New Zealand prepared a report at the request of the Cook Islands government and the Cook Islands Tourist Development Council making recommendations that would form the foundations on which the future development of the tourist industry in the Cook Islands was to be based (Pryor, 1979). The *Tourist Authority Act* (1968) and the subsequent formation of the Cook Islands Tourist Authority (CITA) to handle the promotion, licensing, regulation and control of tourism in the Cook Islands marked the beginning of officially sanctioned tourism promotion and development.

Sir Albert Henry, former Premier of the Cook Islands, promoted a policy of “controlled tourism” aimed at ensuring a harmonious development with the rest of island life. Early planning was oriented towards the social aspects of tourism as well as the commercial. It was hoped that with this type of orientation that Cook Islanders could avoid some of the problems experienced by other island governments with their initiation of tourism (Liew, 1977; Woods, 1978). The Tourist Authority policy set out,

That tourism should not be the means for us to change our way of life, but as an incentive to make us become aware of who and what we are in terms of our culture, customs and traditions.

This should not be interpreted negatively to mean that all changes which affect our way of life must be avoided. Change is inevitable. Instead a positive and constructive attitude is needed. It is the *rate* and *direction* of change and *how* we manage that change and its conflicts that are important

The guiding principle should be preserve only that which is good, modify or destroy the bad, and tamper with the new to strike a balance (Okotai *et al.*, 1982, p. 116).

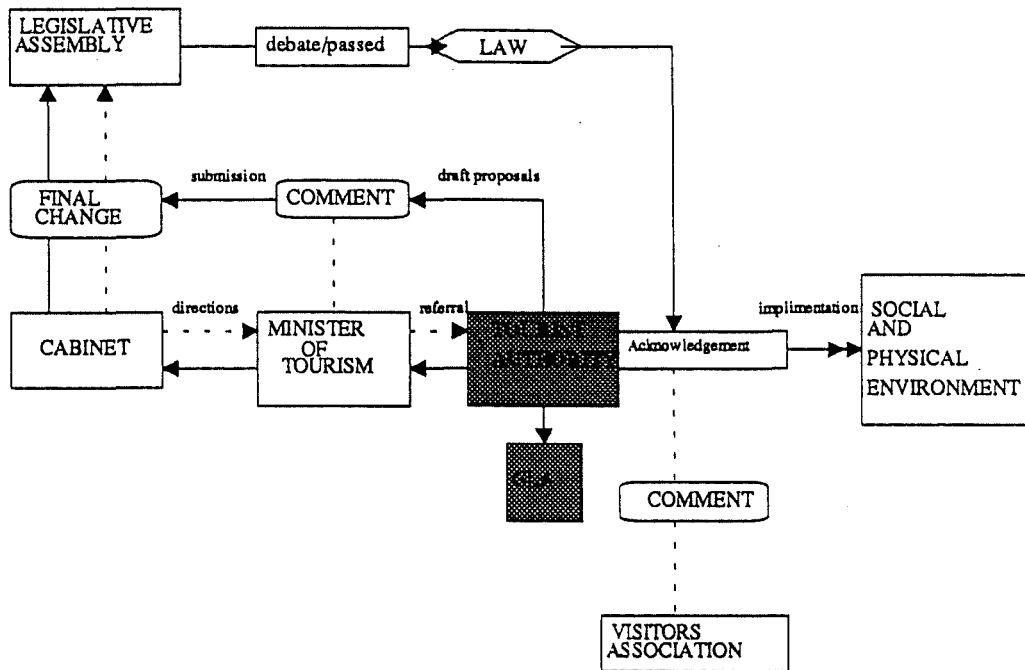
The *Tourist Authority Act* (1968) further set out that tourism was to be for the benefit of the people of the Cook Islands, thus the mitigation of the negative impacts of tourism on the Cook Islands was a stated policy of the government (Liew, 1977).

Decisions regarding tourism in Rarotonga are administered by the government through the Cook Islands Tourist Authority (CITA) (Figure 1.12). Policy proposals relating to tourism are referred to CITA through the Minister of Tourism before they can be passed through the Legislative Assembly. Many proposals originate from CITA; these are submitted to Cabinet for approval prior to being debated in the Legislative Assembly (Liew, 1977). Decisions regarding tourism development in the outer islands

are made by those living in or belonging to those islands. Plans for development are often referred through the Island Councils for recommendation before a decision by the General Licensing Authority (GLA) to grant a licence is made (Okotai, 1980).

FIGURE 1.13

Process of Policy-Making and Implementation of Tourism (Liew, 1977, p. 31).



The Cook Islands Tourist Authority also helped prepare Cook Islanders for the anticipated arrival of tourists with the opening of the international airport in Rarotonga. A booklet was produced informing Cook Islanders of what tourists were, why they would come to the Cook Islands, what they would do while they were there and the anticipated impacts (CITA, 1971). The Cook Islands' directive, controlled and pro-active stance on tourism is important to note, as tourism development may be hindered without the active encouragement of the state. In addition, to the extent that the state (ie. the Cook Islands government) is successful in moderating the undesirable

impacts of tourism, the tendency of the local population to favour tourism will increase (Dogan, 1989).

Until the opening of the international airport in Rarotonga in 1974, the number of tourists arriving in the Cook Islands was small. Total visitor numbers for the years 1966-1970 came to only 2,016. Following the introduction of airline service to Rarotonga, the number of visitors increased from 1,776 in 1973 to 6,477 in 1974. The opening of the Rarotongan Resort (a resort hotel complex) in 1977 marked the next significant increase in visitor arrivals, with 14,584 visitors entering the country that year (CITA, 1992a). Visitor arrivals in 1991, excluding returning Cook Islanders, totalled 36,045 (CITA, 1992b), representing an increase of over 2000 percent since the opening of the international airport in 1974. Rarotonga and Aitutaki now have the highest tourist density (calculated on the density of tourists per 1000 of host country population) of any country of the South Pacific (Crocombe, 1992).

The number of hotels/motels and number of rooms has grown accordingly with the increase in visitor numbers. In 1971, there were four hotels/motels offering 38 rooms, which hosted 979 visitors that year. In 1977, there were 13 hotels/motels, offering a total of 211 rooms, and 14,728 visitors to Rarotonga (Pryor, 1979). In 1991, Rarotonga had over 620 tourist rooms available, with 36,045 visitors arriving on the island (RPTEG, 1991). Over half of the tourist rooms available were contained in just two large resort style establishments (Smith, 1991). Over a third of the accommodation in the Cook Islands is owned and run by Cook Islanders. Cook Islanders are also dominant in the tour operations and bars, as well as most of the

service industries such as retailing. The tourism industry has safeguards against being taken over by foreign interests through two laws: one stating that local majority share holding is needed in any business venture, and another disallowing the sale of land, so land can only be leased through the traditional family land owners (McCarthy, 1991).

New Zealanders and Australians represented 42 percent of the visitors to the Cook Islands in 1991 (28% and 14% respectively). Visitors from the UK and Europe were the next largest group, representing 21 percent of the arrivals, with visitors from the USA (11%) and Canada (10%) being the other significant countries of origin (CITA, 1992). Excluding returning Cook Islanders, nine out of ten visitors are on holiday (Cook Islands Visitor Survey, 1988). The vast majority of visitors to the Cook Islands stay on Rarotonga, with only a small percentage (approximately 16-17%) travelling to the other islands in the Southern group. Most of these visitors travel to Aitutaki, with a mere one percent venturing out to the other outer islands. A minimal number travel to the Northern group (Cook Islands Visitors Survey, 1988).

Approximately 1,200-1,400 Cook Islanders are engaged in employment that has some relation to the tourism industry. This is at least one quarter of the total labour force, and tourism generates at least 25 percent of the government's total revenue (RPTESG, 1991). This is particularly important to the employment situation in Rarotonga as this is where the vast majority of tourists and tourist facilities are located; of the 3,500 people employed on Rarotonga, 35 percent of the jobs are generated by tourism and its related industries, and nearly all establishments have some of their earnings generated by tourism (Cook Islands Department of Statistics, 1991;

RPTESG, 1991; Scott, 1991c). With average wages of \$196.00 per week net², (and often long and unsociable hours), tourism is the largest employer in Rarotonga; workers who work for the tourism industry are reported to “love it” (Hatcher, 1992; Scott, 1991b).

In recognition of the importance of tourism to the Cook Islands, in March 1991 the Cook Islands government contracted (through a grant from the Asian Development Bank) for the development of *The Cook Islands Tourism Master Plan*. The general aims of the *Tourism Master Plan* were to assist the Cook Islands government and the private sector to generate sustainable growth in the tourism sector over the next two decades in a “socially acceptable, environmentally sound and economically viable manner” (RPTESG, 1991, p. S/1). Contained in the *Tourism Master Plan* were several conclusions and recommendations concerning the future of tourism in the Cook Islands. These conclusions and recommendations included:

- That there was an urgent need for a long term strategic plan with a short-to-medium term action programme to bring the strategies to fruition.
- Further tourism product development should be based on the full range of the Cook Island’s attractions and should appeal to a wide range of both general and special interest markets. Planning and controls are needed to determine the pace, form and location of the growth (ie. an emphasis on balanced and controlled development).

² The average weekly wage in 1990 in Rarotonga was \$195 (RPTESG, 1991).

- Because of the relative smallness of land mass and population, the Cook Islands cannot provide (or realistically obtain) the necessary scale of human, financial and technical resources to absorb, manage and control either mass tourism, or sustain high levels of growth in tourism.
- Tourism accommodation room stock should increase by more than one-and-a-half times over the 1990s. Most of the increase should be on Rarotonga and Aitutaki; development on other outer islands should be minimal and should be encouraged on the basis of “for the islands, by the islands, as they want it” (RPTEG, 1991, p. C/2). Other than this suggested expansion, emphasis should be placed on the upgrading of existing properties.
- Tourist arrival targets are for a growth of 11.1 percent by 1995 (up to 57, 800 arrivals) and an additional 3.9 percent by 2000 (up to 69, 900 arrivals). New Zealand is likely to remain the major tourist generating country.
- Marketing and promotions should seek to achieve two aims. First, to differentiate the Cook Islands from similar destinations in the South Pacific (eg. French Polynesia and Fiji); and secondly, to build an image of the Cook Islands as a destination providing quality attractions, facilities and experiences.
- In order to achieve the above aims, the following sub-sectoral and support strategies were suggested: high targeted, cost effective marketing and promotion; sale of Government owned accommodation to private sector; upgrading and refurbishing of existing accommodation and attractions; encouragement of international air services in line with tourist arrival targets; decrease economic leakage from tourism expenditure and increase between tourism and other sectors; undertake environmental awareness programmes for the people of the Cook

Islands and ensure that development projects are evaluated in terms of their socio-environmental consequences; upgrade existing infrastructure; develop more positive attitudes towards tourism on the part of the people of the Cook Islands through public education activities; conduct human resource development activities to ensure that the need for expatriate personnel is kept at a minimum and that high standards of service are provided; and, strengthen the capabilities of CITA and GLA, and establish a Master Plan Implementation Committee (RPTESG, 1991).

These conclusions and recommendations put forward by the *Cook Islands Tourism Master Plan* (1991) are the basis for what will guide and shape the future of tourism in the Cook Islands for the next two decades.

(3) Tourism in Context

As a result of acculturative influences over the past century in particular, contemporary Cook Islands culture, (although based on the old cultural forms, traditions and customs), has modified and adapted to enable its people to live in a modern and dynamic world (Cowan, 1975). Tourism has been part of this acculturative influence, though despite this, 'the old ways' still persist (Scott, 1991b).

It is apparent that Cook Islanders have had broad exposure to Western societies, and those on Rarotonga have also had wide exposure to Western tourism. In fact, most Cook Islanders share a common language with the majority of tourists to their country. Despite this exposure to tourism and heavy reliance on it for employment,

There seems to be little acceptance among many Rarotongans that employment in the hotels, restaurants, tour excursion operations, transport rental companies and shops is solely, or largely, attributable to tourism and without tourism many Cook Islanders would have no regular source of cash income. Similarly, there is minimal appreciation that without the Government's revenue from tourism, the standard of public services would be markedly lower (RPTESG, 1991, p. S/11).

This lack of appreciation of the implications of tourism extends to areas other than economics. As discussed previously, generosity and hospitality are tied closely to the concept of reciprocity in the South Pacific; the Cook Islands are not an exception to this. Within the social fabric of the Cook Islands, reciprocity has an important role in the strengthening of relationships and "getting things done"; while cash is coming to replace other forms of payment for goods and services, traditional obligations are important in many areas of life. As discussed previously, this concept of reciprocity can be problematic in tourism. For example, in the Cook Islands, tipping is discouraged as a "gift" of money (tip) would need to be reciprocated in ways other than the services rendered (Liew, 1977). Many Cook Islanders in Rarotonga who have had greater exposure to tourism have learnt to "ration the reflex" in terms of traditional generosity, though most others have yet to learn this necessary lesson. This is one way in which tourism may be "extractive of human spirit" in the Cook Islands (Scott, 1991c).

Concern has been also been expressed that commercialism spawned tourism may have other socio-cultural effects in the Cook Islands. The president of the Cook Islands Christian Church expressed his concern that,

Many of these hotels and businesses are outside owned ...the milk is drained away. The local people are employed, but their wages are a very limited amount of money. The people are encouraged to work for money and leave the land barren - to stop toiling the fields. The worker

in the hotel can dress in the style of the tourist, and people are attracted to that. They don't realise that the land is their treasure ... in Rarotonga ... (w)hen tourists come, they bathe on Sunday, and now the local people follow that, too (quoted in Scott, 1991c, p. 80).

He is not the only one who has expressed concerns regarding the effects of tourism.

Concern has been expressed about the standard of dress sported by the tourists,

“(w)hat will happen when the first tourist walks around our island (Atiu) in a bikini?”

(Stephenson, 1979, p. 117). Others have expressed their apprehensions that

Rarotonga may become a “bellhop society”, pulled away from its cultural heritage by expectations generated by the “unreal” tourist lifestyle (Scott, 1991c). Others lament the potential effects of liberal changes made to the drinking laws brought about by tourism and the “environmental and cultural shock” brought about by rapid changes in catering to the needs of the tourism industry. There is concern that commercialisation has already begun to result in the neglect of traditional Polynesian caring (Hatcher, 1992; Vereballavu, 1992), and that “(e)veryone thinks money is most important. The extended family has broken down and is no longer our way of life today ... The first thing Maoris think of is money” (Hatcher, 1992, p. 12). Further concerns have been expressed about the potential for increased crime rates as a result of commercialisation and the demonstration effect (Hatcher, 1992), as well as changes to traditional arts and crafts and dancing (Okotai *et al.*, 1982; Syme, 1980).

Despite these concerns, the impact of the approximately 35,000 tourists to the Cook Islands has not been as great as for some other Pacific Islands nations (*cf.* Samy, 1973 and Petit-Skinner, 1977) and, “(t)raditonal goodwill towards the visitor survives

intact”(Scott, 1991c, p. 82). When asked if the introduction of aircraft has impacted negatively upon island life of Aitutaki, a Cook Islands airplane pilot replied,

That only bothers foreigners who cluck cluck if they see changes while they are in the Cook Islands. But, then, they go back to their coddled comfortable lives. Having the advantages of the 20th century promoted by air service doesn't bother the locals a bit (quoted in McDermott & McDermott, 1986, p. 137).

Tourism, it seems, is the Cook Islands' means of gaining economic entrance to the 20th century (Scott, 1991c; Short, 1992, pers. comm.), and is welcome provided “it is a shared experience, a ‘source of pleasure for people’, where hosts and visitors meet in an equal relationship” (Cant, 1980, p.51).

This sense of local control of the industry is an important feature of tourism in the Cook Islands, as the “mitigation of undesirable impacts ... seems to rest entirely on residents achieving more extensive control of tourism's course” (MacNaught, 1982, p. 377; Pryor, 1979; Urbanowicz, 1989). The rapid introduction of tourism to the Cook Islands in the early 1970s had the potential to be analogous to being “hit by a hurricane”, however, “we've (the Cook Islanders) decided that it will be controlled” (Carter, 1974, p. 117). The Cook Islands government has actively controlled tourism development in the Islands. A major Western hotel chain had wanted to build a 300 room hotel in Rarotonga, but

we (Cook Islands government) decided that no one comes in here with more money than the government's got, because we must rule...I (former Premier Albert Henry) told them ‘No, you are asking too much; you are taking over decisions that we must make (quoted in Carter, 1974, p.117).

The tourism industry is also vetted by the church in the Cook Islands. An Australian entrepreneur, who spent ten years building the largest water sport business in the Cook Islands, upset religious leaders in Aitutaki by taking tourists out on the lagoon on a Sunday. As a result, his residence permit was not renewed and he was forced to leave the Cook Islands for a year (Verebalavu, 1992). Tourists are encouraged to attend Sunday church services in the Islands (Scott, 1991b; Smith, 1991; Verebalavu, 1992; Wheeler & Keller, 1989), as this may help balance commercial tourism with the traditional lifestyle of the Cook Islands people (Verebalavu, 1992). An attitude of "accept us as we are" prevails through much of the tourism industry in the Cook islands. This is typified by a guest notice at a Rarotongan accommodation,

If you are on the east side of Paradise you'll see through the trellis Ngati's house. Sometimes they come home late singing. Sometimes they get up very early to go fishing. In any event, they will wake you up, so you may as well go fishing with them, just ask them. If that doesn't wake you, then I'm sure the roosters will. Try to think of it as a cultural experience (quoted in Scott, 1991c, p. 88-89).

Cook Islanders have "their own land, language, and as far as ever is possible, control of their own destiny. Cook Islanders do not need to underline anything by the tone of demand" (Scott, 1991c, p. 83). As a result of this, "we (Cook islanders) have more than the tourist has. We have the right to live here, the right to own a piece of land for ever (sic) and not pay a penny for it. To say 'This is my land,' every step I take (quoted in Scott, 1991c, p. 82), "Traditional life is very stable. That is power" (quoted in Scott, 1991c, p. 85). Although some problems may be concomitant with tourism, greater "problem(s) will come if people stop being happy with it" (Scott, 1991c, p. 89).

This “cultural tenacity and stubborn conservatism” (Beaglehole, 1957, p. 237) of Cook Islanders has been reputed to have provided resiliency in the face of acculturative influences in the past,

..despite these (acculturative) changes the people have remained tenaciously Polynesian, with their own characteristic social life, their own values and emotional attitudes, their own motivations and interests. Not the facts of change, but the resistances to change become emphatic when focus is switched from the externals of life to the psychological bonds that really hold a society together... their supposed interest in novelty does not in fact seem to have led them further than an adaptation of western (sic) technology to island life ... (Beaglehole, 1957, p. 237).

It is often implied that hosts in Pacific island nations are passive recipients of culture change, degraded as they helplessly watch their culture disintegrate, lacking the ability to manipulate the situation in their favour. However, some Pacific peoples have employed strategies in the face of acculturation that reaffirm their own cultural integrity (Farrell, 1977; Kirch, 1984). Cook Islanders have not been passive participants in intercultural contact; they have been active participants in the process of social change. Social change, for Cook Islanders, is re-integrative, not a passive process of adding one element to another (Beaglehole, 1957). In the case of tourism, if change occurs, it is because Cook Islanders allow it to, “I honestly believe that tourism doesn’t harm a country... It is the people in the country who dream up the wrong ideas (Albert Henry, Prime Minister, quoted in Carter, 1974, p. 118).

It therefore appears possible that the inherent flexibility of Cook Islanders, their exposure and experience with dealing with acculturative influences (pre-acculturation) prior to tourism (Liew, 1977), their intrinsic cultural values (Parris, 1983), their

internal control of tourism in their country, and the psychological and socio-cultural characteristics of Polynesians that Cook Islanders share, may moderate some of the negative effects associated with tourism. The response of indigenous people to tourism depends on the quality of their experiences, the degree of control they have in the process and their comprehension of what constitutes the phenomenon (Ross, 1991).

Much of the research on the effects of tourism on indigenous people, regardless of discipline or level of analysis, has been descriptive, and as such, a conceptual framework for understanding the effects of tourism has been absent. Many of the socio-cultural and psychological impacts of tourism are difficult to quantify and not easily discerned from other potential influences which can affect societies, culture or individuals.

This study attempts to identify the socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism on an indigenous people (Cook Islanders), as well as to propose a conceptual framework for understanding tourism's impact on the indigenes of a Polynesian nation. In doing so, it draws upon research in the areas of: tourist typologies, development of tourism destinations, socio-cultural impacts of tourism, conceptual frameworks of acculturation and psychological acculturation, and stress and coping, psychological characteristics and features of Polynesian peoples, and the contextual aspects of tourism in the Cook Islands. These diverse areas of research are integrated to formulate both the research questions and instruments, as well as providing the foundation for the proposed conceptual framework.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

EPISTEMOLOGICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Psychological research, including tourism related research, has utilised quantitative research methods extensively in intercultural contexts. The theoretical justifications for this type of research have their foundations in Western based research methodologies, which tend to focus on process and content. Although attempts have been made to adapt and validate quantitative methods for use in another cultural context, their lack of appropriateness is often apparent, particularly to the indigenous population under consideration. The issue of methodology is relevant to all disciplines, including psychology and tourism . This is especially so in the context of developing nations, particularly as increasing numbers of researchers seek to understand the effects and subsequent practical implications of modernisation (including tourism) on native peoples.

Although social science research of tourism emerged several decades ago, its progression as a legitimate area of scholarly inquiry has not always been accompanied by a concomitant progression of sophistication in research methodology employed. It has been suggested that,

As a result, 'research' often falls into one of the following three categories: theoretical discourse without empirical foundation; descriptive essays which assemble a collection of impressionistic and

anecdotal material; and data analysis void of theoretical content (Dann *et al.*, 1988, p.4).

Further to this is the nature of tourism itself. Frequently tourism occurs in an intercultural context (as it does in the Cook Islands), hence the research itself is also bound by this intercultural context (Berno, 1995). Often the need to consider the cross-cultural applicability of the methodology is neglected. Despite Cohen's (1979, p. 31) early declaration that tourism research should be "processual, contextual, comparative and emic", much cross-cultural research in tourism (as well as other social science disciplines) places primary focus on the content of the research objectives rather than the cultural context in which tourism occurs.

In undertaking cross-cultural research, the ontology of the culture being studied and the conceptual framework of the social scientist are brought into direct confrontation. There is a need, therefore, to integrate the methods utilised with the culture in which the research is taking place (Price-Williams, 1975). However, often theory and methodology have their source in an external culture, usually Western, with the target cultures being developing nations. Researchers are often encouraged to discuss the reliability and validity of Western theories to the experiences of indigenous peoples (Pe-Pua, 1989). In attempting to provide empirical evidence of social and psychological phenomena associated with tourism, the potential inappropriateness of methodologies is not always considered.

This confrontation of indigenous culture with Western conceptual frameworks can be viewed in terms of etic and emic approaches to cross-cultural research. The

etic-emic distinction has been dealt with extensively in the cross-cultural literature (Berry, 1969; Berry, 1988b; Brislin, 1980; Brislin, 1993; Poortinga & Malpass, 1986), but its importance to cross-cultural research needs to be reiterated. The term etic refers to concepts and ideas that are common across all cultures; they are culture-general and include things such as the socialisation of children, conflict resolution and the need to provide sustenance. Emic, on the other hand, refers to those concepts which are culture specific; often they represent the way in which people deal with culture general demands, such as the specific way in which children are socialised into a given culture. It must be noted that emic concepts may be present in some cultures and not others.

In undertaking cross-cultural research, it is imperative that one does not make the assumption the one's own etic-emic concepts are true for any other given culture. At times this distinction is not made, resulting in what is referred to as an "imposed etic" (Berry, 1969; Berry, 1988b). Furthermore, a researcher who seeks to explore only etics and not progress onto an exploration of their emic manifestations is at risk of employing theory-testing research instruments in other cultures which may be inappropriate in that context (Segall *et al.*, 1990).

Within the study of tourism and its impacts, irrespective of disciplinary approach, the supposition that "tourism" and "tourist" are etic concepts is often made. Contemporary tourism is, however, primarily a Western phenomenon, and is reliant on adequate discretionary income, time and association of "travel" with "leisure", (including concepts such as escape from routine and the association of travel with

pleasure) (Leiper, 1990). As such, (as discussed previously), they do not necessarily have equivalent counterparts in non-Western societies. Although many non-Western societies engage in some form of travel, it is not implicit that it is conceptually equivalent to Western tourism. There is growing support for the idea that tourism should be approached from an emic stance, from which the first point of departure for research should encompass the indigenous definition of "tourist" and "tourism" (Cohen, 1979; Lanfant, 1993). In addition, the equivalence of psychological concepts across cultures needs also to be explored and the emic concept of a culture considered (Brislin, 1993),

An important role for psychology in developing countries is to help people master the necessary changes and cope with the psycho-cultural shock they bring while preserving psycho-cultural continuity. To do this requires mapping the existing state, the external influences, and the interaction between the two in the *psychological* space of the people in that particular developing culture. For this purpose, the standard psychological framework may not be adequate since for the most part it was devised in the cultural milieu of industrialized Europe and the U.S. (Azuma, 1984, p.46).

The method of investigation in cross-culture research should be developed within the framework of the socio-cultural system in the context of the culture in which the research is being undertaken (Jain & Misra, 1991).

It is for the above reasons that this cross-cultural research was undertaken using both quantitative and qualitative methods. A grounded theory approach was used to generate a conceptual framework for understanding the socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism in the Cook Islands.

(1) Grounded Theory

“(P)sychologists have been concerned with developing an elaborate research technology while ignoring the main work of science - thinking and discovery” (Rennie, Phillips & Quartaro, 1988). The use of grounded theory emphasises the systematic generation of theory through the inductive examination of data; one does not begin with a theory and seek to prove it, rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge. The emphasis in grounded theory is to move from data towards theory (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992; Rennie *et al.*, 1988; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Thus, grounded theory operates through the process of thinking and discovery.

Grounded theory may utilise both quantitative and qualitative methods, though it is more commonly associated with the latter. Data are analysed in such a way as to allow concepts and categories to emerge from their systematic inspection. A method of constant comparative analysis is used to ensure that the full diversity and complexity of the data are explored in the generation of theory (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992; Rennie *et al.*, 1988; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The use of qualitative data and the generating of grounded theory have not been reflected to a significant extent at a general methodological level in psychology (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992). However, the utility of this approach for generating theory in psychology is particularly relevant for cross-cultural research where Western based theoretical frameworks may be lacking in appropriateness. Grounded theory, using qualitative methods, allows for the emergence of contextual theory which articulates with the data. As such, it minimises the risk of imposing a culturally inappropriate etic

framework, and facilitates the emergence of emic concepts (Segall *et al*, 1990). The approach yields access to aspects of human experience which are difficult, if not impossible, to address with traditional approaches to psychological research yet are inherent to the subject matter of psychology (Rennie *et al.*, 1988).

II. DATA COLLECTION

(1) Background

The data collection for this research was undertaken in several stages (Table 2.1). The first stage of the research was New Zealand based and involved sourcing literature and secondary data available from New Zealand. Several informal interviews were conducted with members of the Cook Islands community in Christchurch and Wellington, and contact was made with the Government of the Cook Islands (the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Tourism) to gain approval and permission to undertake the research. Based on the information obtained, a draft interview schedule was designed.

The structured interview schedule consisted of 20 questions, based on Berry *et al.*'s (1986) discussion of variables associated with psychological acculturation. Included in this were questions assessing: demographic information, measures of acculturation (use of indigenous language, religious practices, travel to other Cook Islands and overseas, exposure to media, involvement in tourism and contact with tourists), perceived effects of tourism and attitudes towards tourism in the Islands in general (Appendix 1).

TABLE 2.1
Schedule of Methods.

STEP	LOCATION	METHOD	OBJECTIVE
1 January 1991- March 1992	New Zealand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • literature review • secondary data • informal interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • background information • thesis proposal • permission from Cook Islands government • draft interview schedule
2 April-May 1992	Cook Islands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pilot quantitative questionnaire (n=15) • secondary data • in-depth interviews (n=15) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • additional background information • check appropriateness of methods and local protocol • pilot questionnaire
3 May-June 1992	Cook Islands and New Zealand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • analysis of quantitative questionnaires • in-depth interviews • analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • re-pilot questionnaire • finalise interview schedule
4 July-October 1992	Cook Islands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • structured quantitative interviews (n=100) • in-depth qualitative interviews (n=25) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • main data collection • preliminary analysis of qualitative data
5 November 1992- November 1994	New Zealand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • coding • analysis • literature review 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • integration of data • development of grounded theory • development of conceptual framework
6 July 1995 (projected)	Cook Islands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • meetings with key government and community leaders with interests in tourism • public presentation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • presentation and dissemination of data in the Cook Islands

A 35 item scale consisting of measures of depression and anxiety (30 items) and psychosomatic symptomatology (5 items) was drafted as a means of assessing the psychological consequences of acculturation. Items were selected based on their use in other cross-cultural psychological research assessing the effects of intercultural contact, specifically studies of acculturation (Berry *et al.*, 1987; Ward & Kennedy, 1992; Ward, pers. comm., 1992). Respondents were asked to indicate, on a four point scale (1= never or a little of the time, to, 4= most of the time), how often they had experienced each of the items on the scale in the past month (Appendix 2).

The second stage of the research involved a preliminary period of fieldwork in the Cook Islands undertaken in April-May 1992. Both Rarotonga and Mitiaro were visited during the fieldwork. A limited pilot of the research instruments was undertaken, secondary data were collated, and interviews were conducted with key informants, who provided information regarding appropriate protocol and methodology for research in the Cook Islands.

The third stage of the research was based partially in the Cook Islands and partially in New Zealand. Information collected and collated during the fieldwork was analysed initially in the Cook Islands. Particular attention was given to the appropriateness and validity of the 35 item scale measuring the psychological effects of acculturation. The items on the scale were discussed with key informants contacted through the Department of Health in the Cook Islands, and assessed in terms of cultural appropriateness. The scale was modified based on these discussions. The scale was then re-piloted and as a result, further minor modifications (primarily to the

wording of the statements) were made prior to its being included in the research. Minor modifications were also made to the 20 item questionnaire assessing variables associated with acculturation and attitudes towards tourism. Further analysis of qualitative data collected (secondary data and interviews) was undertaken in New Zealand, as was limited statistical analysis of the 35 item scale assessing the psychological effects of acculturation. The statistical analysis of the 35 items indicated that the scale was internally reliable with a Cronbach Alpha of 0.86. Final drafts of the 20 item questionnaire and the 35 item scale were prepared, and multiple copies were printed for administration.

The fourth stage of the research comprised the main data collection and was undertaken July-October 1992 in the Cook Islands. Data were collected on four separate islands: Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Atiu, and Mitiaro (Table 2.2). These islands were chosen as they reflect a cross-section of level of touristic development and acculturation in the Cook Islands. Rarotonga and Aitutaki have the highest tourist-host ratio (3.6:1 and 2.7:1 respectively at the time of data collection), whereas Atiu and Mitiaro host minimal tourists (ratios of 0.03:1 and 0.2:1, respectively at the time of data collection) (Cook Islands Visitors Survey, 1988; Cook Islands Department of Statistics, 1991). Rarotonga and Aitutaki boast the overwhelming majority of tourist facilities and accommodation. Atiu and Mitiaro each have one accommodation facility licensed by the General Licensing Authority (GLA) (the body which has the responsibility for the licensing of tourist establishments in the Cook Islands), although local residents sometimes privately host tourists. Atiu has a small café, which was opened in 1992, and a bar, which operates exclusively on a Saturday night until

TABLE 2.2

SCHEDULE OF ISLANDS VISITED FOR DATA COLLECTION (Wheeler & Keller, 1989).

ISLAND	POPULATION	AREA	FEATURES
Rarotonga	9678	67.2 sq. km.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geographically the largest island with the largest population • Avarua, situated on the northern shore, is the nation's capital • Administrative centre of the Cook Islands • International airport, can take wide bodied jets • Full range of amenities and facilities
Aitutaki	2391	18.1 sq. km.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second largest in terms of population, but only sixth in size • The outer reef of the island is dotted with several motus; these islets, and the lagoon, form the major attractions of the island • Daily flights from Rarotonga • If upgraded, the island's runway would be capable of handling jet aircraft • Full range of amenities and facilities
Atiu	955	26.9 sq. km.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Third largest island, fourth largest population • Main features are the <i>makatea</i> (outer fossilised coral rim of the island) and caves • Minimal tourism development: only one accommodation facility and one café • Airport can only handle small planes • Limited electricity • No telecommunications
Mitiaro	272	22.3 sq. km.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fourth largest island, tenth in terms of population • Raised atoll with a swampy interior • Virtually no tourism development • Small gravel airstrip • Limited electricity and running water • Intra-island telecommunication only

midnight, attached to the only motel on the island. Mitiaro has no organised tourist facilities other than one guesthouse.

A total of 100 structured interviews (which included open ended questions which were later included in the qualitative analysis), were conducted on the four islands, twenty-five on each island. In addition, a total of 25 in-depth qualitative interviews were also conducted on the four islands.

Local protocol was observed on each island to gain entrance into the field. On Rarotonga, appropriate government officials were contacted prior to commencing the research and requests for suggestions for possible subjects were made. The local newspaper, *The Cook Islands News*, was contacted, and an interview was arranged to introduce and increase public awareness of the research.

A non-probability sampling method ("snowball" method) was used, as this was felt to be the most culturally appropriate means of gaining a sample. Subjects were obtained through recommendations and introductions procured from other subjects and key informants.

Subjects were informed of the purpose of the research, which was explained as 'a project looking at what Cook Islanders thought and felt about their experiences with tourists in the country'. It was explained that some background information would be taken first, followed by questions relating to tourists and tourism, and that the interview would conclude with questions regarding the subject's general sense of

health and well-being. Subjects were then assured of confidentiality and asked if they wished to participate. If the subject answered affirmatively, a structured interview was conducted. This was followed by a period of de-briefing during which the subjects were invited to ask questions regarding the interview and the interviewer. This type of de-briefing was appropriate to a Cook Islands cultural context (Pe-Pua, 1989).

Subjects were given the option to withdraw from participating in the research at any stage of the interview process. Only one of the prospective subjects declined to participate and none withdrew. Some subjects wished to be supported or represented by family or friends during the interview, which was accepted as being culturally appropriate.

Both the questionnaire and the measure of consequences of psychological acculturation were written in English and presented orally to all subjects. Local interpreters were engaged for those subjects not fluent enough in English to participate directly.

In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with some subjects who had participated in the structured interviews. Additional subjects for the in-depth interviews were selected on the basis that they were likely to be key informants owing to their positions within the local community. Subjects for these interviews were also advised as to the nature of the research. Confidentiality was assured, and a request was made for the interview to be tape recorded when appropriate. At the conclusion of the interview, subjects were de-briefed and offered the opportunity to ask questions, as with the structured interviews.

The fifth stage of the research was undertaken in New Zealand and consisted of the coding and analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data were coded and analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Qualitative data were transcribed by the researcher and analysed using Non-Numerical Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theorising (NUDIST). NUDIST is a software system for managing, organising and supporting research in qualitative data analysis projects. Its strengths are in the support of indexing, searching and theorising written text through the use of both on-line and off-line data (Richards, Richards, McGalliard & Sharrock, 1992). The use of NUDIST in this research served the function of a 'computerised filing cabinet' in which information was coded and indexed. The indexing provided the foundation for the development of 'nodes' (additional indexing categories which are linked to other categories and sub-categories in a tree-like fashion). The indices and subsequent nodes (along with the quantitative data) formed the basis for the development of the grounded theory. Additional literature was reviewed to both support and further develop the emerging conceptual framework.

(2) Constraints and Limitations

Although the methods employed were culturally appropriate for the context in which the research was undertaken, there are several limitations. As a non-probability sampling method ("snowball" sampling) was used, the data cannot be considered representative of either the population of the islands on which data was collected or the population of the Cook Islands as a whole. Though a probability sample would

have been desirable, this was precluded by factors specific to the Cook Islands and by issues concerning cultural appropriateness.

The Cook Islands are made up of 15 separate islands, spread over approximately 2 million square miles of the Pacific Ocean. Some islands are separated by as much as 1000km of open sea, and a few are visited only by infrequent and sporadic visits of trading ships. Despite this, many Cook Islanders commonly travel both between islands and overseas, so current accurate population parameters on any given island can be difficult to obtain, or simply may not exist. The rigours of probability sampling were further hindered by the lack of accurate residential information. Maps of residential areas did not exist and streets (particularly outside Avarua) were nameless with no residential addresses affixed to houses. At the time of the research, only two islands (Rarotonga and Aitutaki) were annexed to an inter-island telephone system, and one (Mitiaro) to an intra-island telephone system. Thus, random sampling based on either place of residence or by means of the telephone directory were unsuitable. Even if a list of the sampling frame were available, the lack of residential addresses and the migratory nature of the population would have meant that access to the chosen sample would have still been problematic. Quota sampling was also not a viable option in this cultural context. Only limited accurate demographic data were available outside Rarotonga, so developing a representative sampling frame based on the information available was not feasible.

The cultural appropriateness of sampling method was also a factor which affected the type of sampling used. In the Cook Islands, cultural protocol indicated

that it would have been inappropriate to arbitrarily canvass subjects based on theories of random or representative sampling. The more culturally appropriate method (the one which was adopted for this research) was to seek information and permission from those in a superior position within the community and then sample based on a system of introductions and referrals (Berno, 1995). Although culturally appropriate, this type of hierarchical non-probability sampling introduces potential biases to the sample; referrals and introductions from those in a superior position within the community may result in a sample that is more representative of existing power bases in the island communities rather than a sample of 'average' Cook Islanders.

An additional consideration in the limitations of the sampling method used in this Cook Islands based research was the intra-cultural diversity and locus of cultural identity of Cook Islanders. Cook Islanders within the Cook Islands tend to perceive themselves as being intra-culturally different, and their conceptualisations and experiences of tourism differ from island to island (see Chapter 3). Because of this intra-cultural diversity, even if a random probability sample had been obtained, presenting aggregate data procured from several islands as being representative of the impact of tourism in the Cook Islands would be artificial and would neglect significant conceptual and cultural differences between the islands (Berno, 1995).

An additional limitation was the use of standardised quantitative measures in the context of the Cook Islands. Although the instruments were based on measures used extensively in cross-cultural research, were piloted and adapted for use in the Cook Islands and were presented by an interpreter in many instances, the use of them

has implications for both the validity and reliability of the data obtained. Many respondents were not familiar with the use of formal, structured interviews, (particularly outside of Rarotonga), which may have affected their ability to answer accurately the questions posed. The idea of having to conceive of a response to a question dealing with an abstract concept (such as depression or anxiety) in terms of a single qualitative category or numerical response appeared to be foreign to many of the respondents, as also was the idea that the answers, although presented orally, had to take a written form. This raises questions about the validity of such a method in this cultural context; what is being measured, the abstract concept as conceptualised by the researcher, or the subjects' ability to artificially compartmentalise their responses into the categories provided (Berno, 1995)?

The collective context of Cook Islands culture also affected the data, in terms of its validity and reliability. As was discussed above, it was culturally appropriate for individual respondents to be 'supported' by members of the extended family or friends during interviews. This support often took the form of consultation with the support people prior to answering a question, or a support person representing the interviewee on a particular issue. To exclude the extended family in an interview situation would have been culturally inappropriate, and the responses obtained under such conditions would have been of questionable validity. Paradoxically, however, one of the main issues involving validity and reliability in questionnaires is the elicitation of accurate *individual* subject's responses, when in some collective cultures, such as the Cook Islands, the very existence of individual responses may be erroneous. Although a *culturally* valid response was obtained through the presence of support people, the

measure of psychological acculturation used in this research was designed as an *individual* level measure. As such, the quantitative data obtained may not validly represent the original research aim, and brings into question the very research objective of obtaining individual level measures in a collectively oriented society (Berno, 1995).

A further limitation of the research (particularly in relation to the qualitative interviews) was that the researcher was not fluent in the indigenous language, Cook Islands Maori. Detail and subtleties relating to the complex and abstract nature of the research may have been 'lost' through the use of an interpreter. This may also have limited access to potential key informants in the community who may not have felt comfortable speaking through an interpreter. An additional factor which may have influenced the data obtained was the interpretation by many respondents (particularly outside the main tourist centres) that the researcher was a 'tourist'. Cook Islands custom dictates that hospitality be extended to visitors ('tourists'), as such, respondents may not have felt free to tell the researcher that they were unhappy with tourism on their island as it may have offended the 'tourist' (researcher). However, this was somewhat overcome in the in-depth interviews as the respondents were able to qualify their answers indicating they did not wish to offend the researcher (Berno, 1995). Additionally, qualitative interviews, though they provide great depth and detail of information, cannot be interpreted as being representative of a population.

Despite these limitations, integration of quantitative and qualitative data serves to address the restrictions discussed. Both methods used in the research gain from and enhance each other through their integration. The qualitative methods more validly

access complex social and psychological phenomena in a culturally appropriate manner as well as accounting for and incorporating the emic stance of the population.

Conversely, the quantitative methods used elicited a substantial amount of focussed, specific information, but the questionable appropriateness of the method challenges the validity, and hence the utility of the results. By integrating both methodologies, the validity of the quantitative information is “cross-checked” and there is more assurance that the qualitative methods were undertaken in a systematic manner and are more accurately representative (though not statistically) of the population under consideration (Simmons, 1984). Notwithstanding, despite the limitations of each *individual* method, their integration serves to present a more valid and reliable account of the phenomena under consideration.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Quantitative results will be presented in the first section of the results. This will be followed by a discussion of the qualitative results; the discussion of the qualitative results will refer to and integrate the quantitative findings.

I. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

(1) Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

(a) Age, Gender and Residence. There were one hundred subjects who participated in the structured interview, 25 from each of the four islands of Rarotonga, Mitiaro, Atiu and Aitutaki. The subjects ranged in age from 14 to 70 with a mean age of 31.6 years; $SD = 15.5$. Thirty-six percent of the respondents were male and 64 percent were female. The gender distribution of the sample differed from that of the population of the Cook Islands (52% male and 48% female). This may be due in part to the sampling method used, as well as the difficulty of the female interviewer gaining access to male subjects in the field.

The average number of residents per household for the sample was 5.2, which was slightly higher than the 4.9 average for the populations of the four islands as reported by the Cook Islands Department of Statistics. There were no significant differences in number of residents per household between the four islands.

(b) **Employment.** Respondents on all four islands represented a broad range of employment sectors from professional positions to those in unskilled labour or unemployed. Respondents were asked whether they considered their occupation to be part of the tourism industry. Only nine percent of the total sample self-reported that they were employed in the tourism sector; seven percent indicated that others in their household were employed in the tourism sector. When asked whether they felt that their household income depended on tourism, 19 percent indicated that it did, and 81 percent felt theirs did not. A chi square analysis indicated that there was a significant association between island of residence and whether respondents felt that their income depended on tourism, ($X^2= 18.3$, $df= 3$, $p< .001$); respondents on Rarotonga reported a higher incidence of dependence on tourism for income than those residing on the other three islands. This is consistent with other data discussed previously.

(2) **Level of Acculturation.**

(a) **Language.** The 100 respondents reported speaking Cook Islands Maori 68 percent of the time on average, however there were four respondents who reported speaking no Cook Islands Maori and ten who spoke it exclusively. There was a positive correlation between age and percentage of Cook Islands Maori spoken for the total sample ($r=.36$, $p\leq .001$), with older Cook Islanders speaking more Maori than younger respondents. A Kruskal-Wallis One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) indicated that there were significant differences in the amount of Maori spoken on the four islands ($p< .001$; see Appendix 3¹). Respondents on Rarotonga reported speaking

¹ Full results for Kruskal-Wallis One Way ANOVAs and Mann Whitney U analyses are appended in Appendix 3.

Maori the least amount of time ($\bar{X} = 41.7$, $SD = 33.6$); respondents on Mitiaro reported speaking Maori the greatest amount of time ($\bar{X} = 89.3$, $SD = 14.4$).

(b) Church Attendance. As would be expected from the census data, most respondents associated with either the Cook Islands Christian Church or the Catholic Church. Of the total sample, 79 percent self-reported that they attended church 'regularly' (meaning most Sundays). There was a significant association between island of residence and regular church attendance ($X^2 = 26.7$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$), with those in the outer islands (Aitutaki, Aitu and Mitiaro) more likely to attend on a regular basis than those living on Rarotonga.

(c) Travel. Almost all of the respondents reported having travelled to other islands in the Cook Islands, with only three percent reporting they had not. Almost all outer islanders surveyed (those living on Aitutaki, Atiu and Mitiaro) reported having travelled to Rarotonga at some time. Similarly, 82 percent of the total respondents reported that they had travelled overseas, with New Zealand, Australia and other Pacific Island nations being the most common destinations. There was a significant association between island of residence and overseas travel ($X^2 = 11.1$, $df = 3$, $p \leq .01$), with more respondents from Rarotonga and Aitutaki having travelled outside the Cook Islands. Despite the amount of travel reported, most respondents from the four islands (83%) reported that they intended to live in the Cook Islands permanently.

Most respondents in the total sample reported having relatives overseas; only eight percent did not. The most common locations reported were New Zealand and

Australia. Family overseas visited the Cook Islands regularly, with 28 percent returning on an annual basis, 30 percent every few years and 15 percent having more than a five year gap between visits.

(d) **Media.** Respondents were asked to indicate how much exposure they had had to media. At the time of data collection, only Rarotonga and Aitutaki had access to broadcast television. However, many residents of Atiu and Mitiaro owned television sets with video players, and residents on both these islands had access to video recordings of television shows and movies. Of the two islands with broadcast television (Rarotonga and Aitutaki), the average number of hours of television watched per week was 11.5, with a range of frequencies from zero to 56 hours reported. Respondents on Aitutaki reported watching marginally more television than those on Rarotonga. This may have been due in part to a 'novelty' factor, as broadcast television had only recently been introduced to the island at the time of data collection. A Kruskal-Wallis One Way ANOVA revealed significant differences between the number of videos watched per week and island of residence ($p < .01$, see Appendix 3). On average, residents on Atiu watched more videos per week than residents on other islands. Broadcast radio (based in Rarotonga) was available on all four islands. (Although the radio shows were Cook Islands based, much of the was of overseas origin; news and sports broadcasts from New Zealand and Australia, and 'top 40' music from overseas received significant air time.) There were no significant differences between the four islands on hours of radio listened to per week. However, when the four islands were grouped into two groups of two islands each based on whether they had broadcast television or not (Rarotonga/Aitutaki having broadcast

television and Atiu/Mitiaro not having broadcast television), a Mann Whitney U analysis revealed significant differences between the two island groups on mean number of videos watched per week and mean hours of radio listened to per week ($p \leq .01$ for number of videos watched and $p \leq .05$ for hours of radio listened to; see Appendix 3). Respondents in the Atiu/Mitiaro grouping reported higher incidences of both video viewing and radio listening, which may be associated with the lack of broadcast television on those islands.

Residents on Rarotonga and Aitutaki were more likely to read the *Cook Island News* on a more frequent basis than residents on Atiu and Mitiaro. This result was not unexpected as the *Cook Islands News* is published in Rarotonga and thus widely available on that island; several daily flights from Rarotonga to Aitutaki resulted in the wide availability of the publication on Aitutaki as well. Although Atiu was also serviced by daily flights, the *Cook Islands News* was not widely available on the island. At the time of data collection Mitiaro was not serviced by daily flights, nor was there an outlet on the island which regularly stocked newspapers, thus the *Cook Islands News* was not available on a regular basis on that island either. A minimal number of respondents reported reading overseas newspapers or magazines with any regularity, irrespective of island of residence.

(e) **Contact with Tourism and Tourists.** Seventy-three percent of the respondents on the four islands reported that they had contact with tourists weekly or more often. However, as would be anticipated, respondents on Rarotonga reported having more frequent contact with tourists than those on the other islands; eighty

percent of respondents on Rarotonga reported having daily contact with tourists. In contrast, only one respondent on Mitiaro reported that they had daily contact. Residents on all four islands reported coming into contact with tourists in a variety of different situations which included in the street, at work, during leisure activities, and in their homes, though having contact with tourists in private homes was the least frequently reported situation for contact.

When asked whether they chose to spend time with tourists outside of a work situation, a significant association between island of residence and choice to spend time with tourists was found, ($X^2= 19.5$, $df=3$, $p<.05$). Respondents from Atiu and Mitiaro in particular (the two islands with the lower tourist-to-host ratios), gave more affirmative responses, indicating that they wished to spend time with tourists outside a work situation.

A question assessing whether respondents wanted the same, more or less contact with tourists did not result in any significant associations between island of residence and this variable. About half of the respondents from the four islands (51%) wished to maintain the same amount of contact with tourists; 40 percent wanted more contact with tourists. Only nine percent of the total sample wished to have less contact with tourists. For the most part, respondents from the outer islands (Aitutaki, Atiu and Mitiaro) did not differ significantly as to whether they wished to have the same or more contact with tourists; however, eighty percent of respondents on Rarotonga wanted the same amount of contact with tourists and only sixteen percent indicated that they wished to have more contact.

When asked if the number of tourists in the Cook Islands should change or remain the same, 34 percent of the total sample thought that there should be the same number of tourists to the Cook Islands and 49 percent wished to see more tourists come to the Cook Islands. Only seventeen percent wished to see fewer tourists visiting the Cook Islands. There were no significant differences between islands on this measure.

It is interesting to note that although many of the respondents would like to see more tourists coming to the Cook Islands (including respondents on Rarotonga, 48% of whom indicated that they wished to see more tourists coming to the Cook Islands), most wished to maintain their current level of contact with tourists. This was particularly true for respondents on Rarotonga (the island with the highest tourist-to-host ratio) of which 80% indicated that they wished to maintain their current levels of contact.

When asked how satisfied they were with their contact with the tourists, and their general feelings about tourism in the Cook Islands, almost all respondents on the four islands indicated that they were content with the tourism situation in the Cook Islands, however, this result may be somewhat spurious. With a cultural obligation of the extension of hospitality towards visitors, combined with a lack of familiarity with structured questionnaires (and social science research in general) on the part of many respondents, subjects tended to acquiesce, and a positive response bias was evident. It may have been considered inappropriate to indicate to a 'guest' (the researcher) that

one was dissatisfied or unhappy with tourism or tourists on the island, as it may have been perceived as tantamount to telling the researcher that they were unhappy with her. Though most respondents indicated that they were satisfied with tourism and tourists in the Cook Islands, unstructured, in-depth interviews (to be discussed below) revealed that there were levels of concern regarding tourism on all of the islands. When subjects were able to qualify their answers, they were more likely to respond with statements of their reservations, as answers could be phrased in a way which would not offend the researcher.

When asked what they felt should stay the same in the Cook Islands, 25 percent of the total respondents stated that the culture of the islands should remain unchanged. Other significant areas that respondents wished to see remain the same included the environment, religious practices, "everything" and the use of the indigenous language. When asked if they felt tourism could affect aspects of Cook Islands culture that they felt were important, a significant association between island of residence and anticipated effects was found ($X^2=9.8$, $df=3$, $p\leq.05$). Subjects on Rarotonga and Aitutaki expressed more concern that tourism may affect Cook Islands culture than those on Atiu and Mitiaro. Subjects on Mitiaro were the least likely to express concern that tourism may affect Cook Islands culture; only 28 percent indicated that they thought tourism might have an effect.

(f) **Acculturative Stress.** Acculturative stress was measured using a scale assessing depression, anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms. The minimum possible score for the scale was 35, with a maximum possible score of 140 (a higher score

indicating higher levels of symptomatology). The mean score of the acculturative stress measure for the four islands was 62.3, $SD = 13$. Of the four islands, Mitiaro had the highest mean score ($\bar{X} = 67.1$, $SD = 13.5$; to be discussed below). It is noteworthy, however, that there were no statistically significant differences on levels of acculturative stress found between the four islands. Based on the discussion of the literature on acculturative stress in Chapter One, it would have been anticipated that as the four islands had experienced differing levels of acculturative influences (including tourism), there would have been indications of corresponding differing levels of acculturative stress as a result. However, this was not the case.

This finding could be the result of several factors. As there were no standard validation means for the scale for a Cook Islands sample, it cannot be inferred with any degree of accuracy what the mean score for the sample 'means' in terms of acculturative stress in the Cook Islands. However, it may be possible that the mean score of 62.3 (out of a possible maximum score of 140) for the sample may be indicative of low levels of acculturative stress in general, indicating that Cook Islanders on the whole, are not experiencing negative effects associated with acculturation. On the scale assessing acculturative stress, there was one particular item of note supporting this; 75% of respondents indicated that they had "enjoyed life" (item 16) "most of the time" in the month prior to the data collection.

It is also possible that the low levels of acculturative stress reported and the lack of significant differences between islands may have been the result of the instrument lacking validity as a measure of acculturative stress. Although the items on

the scale were based on research instruments used in other cross-cultural contexts, were developed and modified in consultation with members of the Department of Health in the Cook Islands and piloted prior to administration, the instrument may have been inappropriate for use in this context, as discussed previously. The use of a single scale to assess the effects of acculturation also neglects to address adequately the complexity of the phenomenon and does not account fully for how the effects of acculturation may manifest. Additionally, a single scale, even when used in association with measures of levels of acculturation (as was done in this research) does not account fully for the context in which the stress (as measured by the scale) occurs. For example, at the time of data collection, both Mitiaro and Rarotonga had experienced recent arson fires. In the case of Mitiaro, the fire destroyed a large part of the only school on the island, and as such, was a traumatic event for the small population of the island. This recent event may have had a significant effect on stress levels of respondents on that island, thus resulting in the slightly higher mean scores on the measure of acculturative stress, despite the arson fire not being an acculturative influence. Thus, even if significant associations between level of acculturation and level of stress are found, it cannot be inferred that the relationship between acculturation and stress is valid unless the total context is considered.

A significant negative correlation with age was found for the total four island sample ($r = -.38, p \leq .001$); younger respondents had higher scores on the measure of acculturative stress. Anecdotal evidence suggested that some younger Cook Islanders, particularly those who had been born or had lived overseas (mainly New Zealand) and had then returned to the Cook Islands, experienced some degree of marginalisation.

Additional anecdotal evidence suggested that some young Cook Islanders who had 'been in trouble' (eg. petty crime, truancy, drinking etc.), on Rarotonga were sometimes sent to live with relations in the outer islands; it was suggested by this anecdotal evidence that they too experienced some degree of marginalisation. The higher scores on the measure of acculturative stress may have reflected this marginalisation. The issue of the possible marginalisation of young Cook Islanders and its relationship to acculturative stress was peripheral to this research, however, it is an area of acculturation in the Cook Islands that warrants further research.

In summary, the quantitative data suggest that all four of the islands included in the research have experienced acculturation to varying degrees. Most of the respondents on the four islands had had broad exposure to media influences (radio and videos in particular) and almost all had travelled overseas. As would be expected, Rarotonga and Aitutaki presented with greater degrees of acculturation than Atiu and Mitiaro on many of the measures. These differences do not result solely from the effects of tourism, as Rarotonga and Aitutaki have greater access to acculturative influences in general (more frequent flights, broadcast television, greater access to Western newspapers, magazines etc. and more Western style facilities and amenities). However, the higher contact with tourists, the larger tourism industries and the greater economic reliance on tourism in Rarotonga (and to a lesser degree Aitutaki) may act to accelerate acculturative influences. Despite the differences in exposure to acculturative influences (including tourism), there were no significant differences between the four islands on the measure of acculturative stress. This could be the result of several factors. The measure may have reflected accurately a low level of

stress overall for the Cook Islanders sampled; the instrument may not have been a valid measure for use in this cultural context; or the single scale (despite being used in association with other measures of acculturation) may not have accounted for accurately the total context in which stress may have been experienced. These factors point to the difficulty and limitations of using a single quantitative measure of stress as an explanatory variable.

II. QUALITATIVE RESULTS

The following section presents the qualitative results and integrates them with the quantitative results. Based on this integration, and informed by grounded theory, a conceptual framework for understanding the socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism, as moderated by other factors, is presented. This is discussed using the Cook Islands as a case study.

Though the qualitative data present both verbatim and paraphrased comments, to concur with the assurance of confidentiality given to subjects identifying characteristics of the respondents are not given. The Cook Islands is a small country and even minimal information about respondents could threaten confidentiality, particularly for those who hold key community, government or tourism positions.

(1) The Meaning of Tourist and Tourism

Central to an understanding of the effects of tourism in the Cook Islands is an understanding of what “tourism” and “tourist” mean to people there. Interviews on all four islands revealed that there were varying conceptualisations of these terms.

As discussed previously, when large scale tourism was introduced to the Cook Islands in the early 1970s, the government made a point of educating the public regarding what tourism and tourists were. Emphasis was placed on tourists being “guests” visiting the Islands who “will have made friends with the local people” by the time they leave (CITA, 1971, p. 12 & 13). Locals were also advised as to what they might expect the tourists to do and buy, how the tourists would behave, the effects of tourism for the Cook Islands and the locals’ role in the tourism industry (CITA, 1971). Despite this, there were many early misconceptions about tourists,

...even before tourists arrived here, all they were thinking of, all they saw of tourists was an association of films, the things they didn’t like in films, that’s what tourists were...so their idea of tourists was based on what they was² in films, not of tourists, but of Western culture... that’s what they thought tourists were, people they saw in films, and didn’t like what they saw. That’s what tourists were, tourists were *papa’a*.

Many Cook Islanders continue to refer to tourists not as “tourists”, but as *papa’a*, which means “European”, or in its more literal sense, “four layers”, which referred to Europeans multi-layered style of dress. One informant also revealed that some Cook Islanders have a derogatory term for certain types of tourists (mainly incipient mass and mass tourists who visit Rarotonga and Aitutaki); they are referred to as “loopies”.

² Many of the quotations from interviews contain apparent grammatical errors. These will not be delineated by (*sic*), as they are accepted as being *emic* to the use of English in the Cook Islands.

Despite the numbers of tourists travelling to the Cook Islands (36,045 tourists, excluding returning Cook Islanders, in 1991), and the Cook Islands government's attempts to educate Cook Islanders about what tourists are and what they do, many Cook Islanders, particularly those outside the main tourism areas, lack a clear conceptualisation of Western tourism.

For the most part, subjects on Rarotonga and Aitutaki, with their wider exposure to tourists, tended to conceptualise tourists more in accordance with Western definitions. Most understood that tourists were consumers who paid for the goods and services provided, including, to a certain degree, the commercialisation of interpersonal relationships. There was also an acceptance that a tourist was someone who was "on holiday", and was therefore different from other non-indigenous groups such as resident ex-patriots, volunteer workers, researchers and military personnel. As one respondent stated,

It's (tourism) nothing really... Most people want to get away from the cold winter, come to the Cook Islands and have some freedom.

In Rarotonga in particular, subjects had a clearer conceptualisation of what tourists and tourism were, as indicated by one interviewee, "...people have caught up with the idea that tourists are paying". Those involved directly in the tourism sector in Rarotonga had, for the most part, realised that tourism is a "hospitality industry", and had recognised that reciprocity in this situation takes the form of payment for goods and services; there were generally no expectations for future reciprocity.

However, despite this apparent Western conceptualisation of tourism and tourists on Rarotonga and Aitutaki, there was still evidence, even on these high tourism-density islands, that the concepts were not wholly etic, particularly amongst those not involved directly in the tourism industry. One subject, who was representative of several others interviewed, described tourists as "visitors"; people who should be met, enjoyed and be the recipients of hospitality, with no explicit expectation of remuneration in exchange. Comments such as,

It's...probably better to make friends with them. Some will never forget you. If you go to their land, they'll welcome you, like you've welcomed them;
and,

Some of our people are ... being part of the tourists' families,

typify this lack of clear conceptualisation. Even a major tourism operator on Aitutaki stated that, "They're not tourists; they're visitors". Others believed that tourists came primarily because of the people and culture of the Cook Islands, rather than for a holiday in the sun. As one respondent believed, "...they're here to meet and talk to locals".

Even though some people lacked a Western conceptualisation of tourism and tourists, subjects on Aitutaki and Rarotonga did differentiate tourists from sojourners or immigrants. So, for the large group of indigenes not directly involved in the tourism industry, while "tourists" were defined clearly as a separate category of non-indigenous people, their role as "consumers of hospitality" as a commodity was not.

In contrast, subjects on Mitiaro, and to a lesser extent, Atiu, did not share the same conceptualisation of tourists and tourism as did subjects on Rarotonga and Aitutaki. On Mitiaro in particular, tourists often were not differentiated from other non-Cook Islander visitors to the island such as researchers, teachers, volunteer workers and military personnel. Many subjects referred to the “tourists” who came and made an entrance in the reef surrounding the island (New Zealand military personnel), the “tourists” who stocked the lake with fish (a United Nations Development Project) and the “tourists” who had asked a lot of questions the previous year (American researchers). Tourists were viewed as “visitors” or “guests” of the community and were often referred to as “friends”, despite their usually short stay and superficial contact. There was minimal understanding or appreciation of the consumer nature of tourism. As a former resident of Mitiaro, now living on another island, stated,

On Mitiaro with tourists...the people don't really see tourists as one way of making money in a small community like that.

Interviews with residents of Mitiaro suggested that there was a perception that tourists were expected to reciprocate the hospitality extended to them, despite having paid for room and board while on the island. Comments such as: “...they might help some of the parts that's lacking in the island”; “They do help, but with some, they just come here for pleasure or for holidays”; and “...maybe doctors”, typified the role that many residents expected of the tourists.

The lack of conceptualisation of what tourism meant for people of Mitiaro is exemplified by the following quote from one of the residents of the island who had had comparatively more exposure to both Western culture and Western tourism than other

residents. When asked what the anticipated effects of more than ten visitors at a time to the island (the current accommodation threshold) might have, the interviewee replied,

Personally, is to me, my own opinion, is too many white tourists walking up and down the road. Probably the local people wouldn't have time to go inland (to the plantations) and do their work. They'd all be sitting under the trees looking at all this tourists walking back and forth because Mitiaro is not a big island and a small community. They'd just go five minutes from one end to the other end, so if they keep going there will be 20 or 30 people, tourists, that be walking around every five minutes and the local wouldn't have time to go inland.

Similarly, on Atiu, many locals did not have a clear conceptualisation of Western tourism. As one resident of Atiu stated,

The people over here, they don't look at the tourists as a source of income, or rip-off (the tourists) or so. No, in that way tourism hasn't had any influence here yet.

On Atiu, concern was expressed that this lack of an etic conceptualisation of tourism had lead to locals' hospitality being taken advantage of at times, and that some resentment had formed as a result of the "guests" not reciprocating in an appropriate fashion. It was also pointed out by a government official on Atiu that the very concept of offering private board for tourists could be problematic within traditional Cook Islands communities. If a tourist is invited to stay in a private home, they become a "guest" or "friend" of the family. This in turn makes it difficult to negotiate a price, as normally, it would be expected that the "guest" would reciprocate appropriately at a later time, perhaps by extending an invitation to stay in their home. In addition, the interviewee pointed out that many Cook Islanders are shy, and as such, may have difficulty negotiating a fair price. For example, another subject related a story of a

local family who hosted tourists in their home. They charged the tourists seven dollars a night, which initially appeared to be a large sum of money for hosting “guests” in their home. However, cultural obligation dictated that they take care of their guests in an appropriate fashion; and meals including meat and eggs were provided, as was the free use of a motor bike for sightseeing around the island. The tourists felt that they had obtained a great bargain. However, the local family felt taken advantage of by their “guests” as seven dollars was not enough to cover the expenses, and they were unable to negotiate a fairer price with their “guests”, nor did the “guests” reciprocate at a later date for the hospitality, as would normally be expected in Cook Islands culture. This sort of situation was mentioned by another respondent on Atiu who worked in the tourism sector. The respondent stated,

...the Island custom is basically if you come to somebody else's island they will look after you and feast you and shower you with gifts, but they know when they go to your island you will do the same or better. You will entertain them, shower them with bigger and better gifts than them. And that's the system. So you've got this person coming from overseas as a tourist, comes to this island, he's a visitor to your island, you entertain him, shower him with gifts, and then you figure, the next time you go to Los Angeles and you step off the plane, they'll be there to meet you, to take you to their home, to shower you with gifts that are bigger and better. But it doesn't work. Obviously, it just doesn't work because we're not dealing with islands any more.

Conversely, this private hosting of tourists may be problematic for the tourists as well. A conversation with a pair of German tourists who had contracted with a local family for room and board was indicative of this. In having been welcomed into the family's home, the tourists became “guests” of the family for the duration of their visit. The tourists reported that the family insisted on washing and ironing their clothes, and were quite hurt and insistent if the couple missed meals or were late returning at night, as the family expected that the couple would sit around and “chat”,

watch videos with them etc. The Germans felt that that this was an imposition on their time as tourists, as they felt that they had met their obligation in paying for the room and board.

A further example of the concept of tourists as “guests” was offered by another interviewee. When the small motel opened on Atiu in 1980 the first paying guests were perceived by the locals as being personal guests of the owners of the motel. This led to misunderstandings between the owners of the motel and some locals. It apparently took some time before locals realised that guests at the motel were not guests of the owners, and felt comfortable enough to approach the tourists to invite them places, take them around the island etc.

It is important to consider the local or emic understanding of tourism, not only because it may affect the validity of research (as discussed previously when the researcher may be conceptualised as a tourist), but also because the understanding of tourism may temper perceptions of its effects. The lack of an equivalent conceptualisation does not necessarily have to result in negative consequences (just a spurious interpretation); it may result in quite positive outcomes in some instances.

The belief that tourists are “friends” or “guests” who are interested in the culture and people of the island could potentially reinforce self-esteem and cultural identity.

However, this is dependent on the intentions of the tourist (eg. is the tourist genuinely interested in the culture and the people or is s/he simply looking to escape or “looking for a bargain”?). The expectations of the host need to match the intentions of the tourist, otherwise the consequences may be negative, with the locals feeling taken

advantage of, or the tourist feeling imposed upon. This disparate situation was alluded to by one subject who stated,

...and the local people are very friendly and giving, but they will come to a stage where they will realise that there's too many take and not enough give.

Related to the above is the stage of tourism development and the "type" of tourist frequenting an island. As tourism becomes more institutionalised, more locals gain exposure to it, and hence develop an understanding of its economic base. It is in the early stages of development (as on Atiu and Mitiaro) that local residents have lacked consistent and pervasive exposure to Western tourism on a first hand basis and have as yet to acquire a clear understanding of its purposes and capacities. Frequent travel to Rarotonga (as many outer Islanders are wont to do) may not necessarily provide enough exposure to Western tourism to affect their conceptualisations to a significant degree. Many outer-islanders will stay with family, friends or in island hostels while in Rarotonga, and as such, will not have intimate contact with tourists.

The "type" of tourist attracted to a destination is related to the stage of tourism development. As suggested in the literature review, in the early stages of development locations are generally frequented by tourists who have a genuine interest in the people and culture of a region, and who are inclined to adapt to the local norms for the most part. As the destination develops, concomitantly, the type of tourist visiting also changes, and there is an increase in institutionalised tourism. These tourists tend to require Western style amenities (Smith, 1989a). When the tourists are interested in the local culture and accepting of its norms, the effects are believed to be less and of a different nature than those accompanying more institutionalised tourism. When a

tourist is of the type who has minimal interest in the local culture and has expectations of Western amenities and the host community is in the early stages of tourism, as Atiu and Mitiaro are, then a negative outcome may result, as indicated by this outer island interviewee,

...we still get a few people who come here who go to an outer island and feel that everything should be cheaper here and should be possible to get very cheap accommodation here with a local family...they might get one or two (tourists) that are good, that they enjoy, and suddenly they get one that is so much bad news for them, and they lose a lot of self-esteem...because they just open their mouth and say "I'm not going to do that, you expect me to go into that toilet" or "I can't eat that food" and so on and it just destroys their desire to have people in their home again.

However, if the stage of tourism development, the type of tourist, the expectations of the host and the intentions of the tourist are in equilibrium, the potential negative effects may be moderated.

(2) The Effects of Tourism

As discussed previously, in addition to possibly moderating the effects of tourism, the conceptualisation of tourism may affect the validity of research. In the case of the Cook Islands, particularly some of the outer islands, any non-Cook Islander visiting the island is deemed a tourist irrespective of their purpose of visit. In the course of this research, a challenge to the validity of the quantitative data was posed as a result. As discussed, many subjects acquiesced in response to questions asking about their satisfaction with tourism and tourists in the Cook Islands; to do otherwise may have offended the "tourist" (researcher) to whom they were speaking. However, when able to qualify their responses in in-depth interviews, many subjects expressed

concerns about their perceptions of the effects of tourism, even though quantitatively they had indicated that they were comfortable with tourism in the Cook Islands.

(a) Tourism and Acculturation in Context. As discussed above, Cook Islanders have experienced many acculturative influences including colonisation, broad exposure to media, frequent travel abroad, contact with returning migrants and tourism, to name a few of the more prominent influences. In discussing tourism as a means of acculturation with Cook Islanders, the reported perceptions of the impacts of tourism were diverse, but common themes were evident. The acculturative influences of tourism were seen by many as having impacts on the people of the Cook Islands, though several respondents pointed out that tourism is but one means of acculturation, and may in fact be a minor agent of acculturative change.

Cook Islanders resident overseas returning to the Islands for holidays were seen by many to have had a greater acculturative influence than tourists,

...the Cook Islanders coming back here for holidays are part of the tourism aspect...'course they come in and mix with their own family members and say 'Oh, this is the way we do it in New Zealand, this is the way we do it in Australia'. 'Course the young ones grab it as an exciting new thing, so they'd rather have that than stay with their own traditional lifestyle...with the older people...the modern tourism inclined aspect of life has made it easier for them, so it's affected their own traditional lifestyles.

Similarly, other interviewees pointed out,

...migration of our people to European societies...I think that's where the culture affect. I mean the foreign culture affect the way of life here...;

and,

People say a lot of changes have been brought by tourists. I don't believe it. They're brought by us, those who come back from overseas.

In addition, the acculturative influences of the media, ("...media has a major role in the thinking of people today"), and videos, ("...you only have to go around the video shops and see...the numerous video tapes...that must play on the minds of our young people"), were emphasised as major agents of acculturation. Videos in particular had had an impact not only in terms of acculturation, but have affected aspects of tourism in the Cook Islands as well. It was reported that men in particular had formulated impressions of Western women as wealthy and possessing 'loose' sexual morals based on the type of videos they had watched. This had generalised to Western female tourists, and some women (single independent travellers in particular), had received unsolicited and unwanted attention from local men. One respondent in Rarotonga went as far as to suggest that this image of Western women, along with their scanty attire, had led to an increase in sexual offending against female tourists in Rarotonga (*cf* Hatcher, 1992).

(b) **Infrastructure and Amenities.** The introduction of modern infrastructure and amenities has also had a great impact on the lives of Cook Islanders. For example, a respondent on Atiu spoke of the effects of the introduction of electricity to the island in 1978,

...that really changed the lifestyle of the people...it all led to later in the night and not so early in the morning any more.

The opening of airstrips on the islands has also played a role in the introduction of change,

...and of course the plane comes ...when you are dependent on the boats...if something broke down and you needed urgently a part, you had to wait four months or so, but now it is different.

The international airport on Rarotonga has also created easier and quicker access to the outside world and has facilitated the migration (and subsequent return) of Cook Islanders to countries such as New Zealand and Australia.

The acculturative effects of tourism, particularly in the outer islands, need to be assessed in the context of these other powerful acculturative influences. As interviewees stated,

So I say that tourism, the tourists themselves are having an effect or an impact our population . I think it's sort of stretching it too far;

and,

...it (change) wouldn't be just from tourism; it's from everything.

(c) Demonstration Effect. Despite the recognition of other acculturative influences, many respondents did see tourism as a means of acculturation in the Cook Islands. Exposure to tourists' lifestyles and expectations while on holiday was seen to have an influence on the daily life of Cook Islanders, particularly for those who worked in the tourism sector on Rarotonga,

...we have to understand that there are still many Cook Islanders that still have cold water, some of them would have an inside toilet, otherwise they'd have an outside toilet and then they're working in a job which demand hot water, high class lavatories and all that sort of stuff, showers and that. So there's two dimensions to their lifestyle...this person is sort of doing it as an eight hour job, 40 hours a week and then they have to go back home...they'll be rethinking how they sort of live their lifestyle...that's just one aspect of learning from

the demands of tourists, and in fact incorporating them into part of your lifestyle.

Similarly, another respondent in Rarotonga said,

The model the tourist provides of the consumer, the tourists' mode of dress and behaviour, like eating in restaurants, drinking alcohol, jewellery, cameras, is creating a belief in our local people that this is the way everyone should live. They're not aware that they've saved- the demonstration effect. It leads to an increase in consumerism and crime in the local people. Not being satisfied and believing they can help themselves. Development usually produces this, but tourists are more visible.

Several respondents felt that Cook Islanders were quick to accept change and incorporate it into their lifestyle without assessing adequately the impacts it would have. Statements such as,

Cook Islanders are easy to accept change, but slow in looking at the long term effects, by then it's too late ;

and,

...because this is new to them and they are exposed to this, they like it and they go along with it without realising the danger,

typify this concern. As one interviewee indicated, tourism, though not the only means of acculturation, may be "speeding up the process".

One respondent on Rarotonga spoke of what he felt were some of the changes resulting from tourism on that island,

They, I think Cook Islanders have become more worldly and in particular I'm talking about Rarotongans, okay. I'm Rarotongan, so we can speak for ourselves. Yeah, Rarotongans are definitely becoming more worldly, and it's become the big Mecca; it is the big Mecca for the outer islanders... Yeah, it changes lifestyles, people's ideals.

Rarotongans, most of them at least own a motor bike if they're better than that they own two motorbikes, or three. And if they're even better than that they own a 1,500 or 15,000 dollar car or something. On top of that we can own a washing machine or refrigerator, deep freeze, and even these days a microwave...And I feel it's all tied into tourism...it's seeing other people's lifestyles.

Older respondents in particular lamented the influence that tourism was having on the younger residents of the Cook Islands. The copying of Western style music and past times were mentioned frequently, but of particular concern was the adoption of the tourists' clothing (or the lack of it) by youngsters;

...clothing, people here, mainly the young ones, seem to copy the bad side to our custom and way of life. There ought to be a law or something...;

and,

Atiu is a small island, everything the tourists bring in they can copy the tourists, what they wear on the road. That may change the life of the young people here on the island. Most of the things here from the outside world are copied from the tourists;

and,

In Aitutaki...tourists are used to showing their bodies. Even some of the locals are starting to adapt their ways, mainly the younger ones. It upsets the elderly,

typify these sentiments.

It was in the outer islands, in particular, that the issue of the attire of the tourists was most marked. While many older Cook Islanders did not approve of brief bathing costumes worn at the beach, it was generally accepted that this was permissible, though topless bathing was not. However, the relative lack of modesty of tourist apparel worn away from the beach was one of the most commonly cited negative effects of tourism, particularly in the outer islands. Interviewees in Rarotonga occasionally mentioned the dress standards of the tourists, but it was by far more

prevalent outside of Rarotonga. The seriousness of this impact of tourism was clearly conveyed in this interview from one of the outer islands,

...they (two male tourists) wandered through town in their underpants as far as the local people were concerned. And I (the owner of the motel the tourists were staying at) got a deputation, which consisted of, they introduced themselves, I knew who they were, I knew them as (nickname) and (name) and so on, but they introduced themselves as this is a representative from the Prime Minister's Department; this is a representative from the Council of Churches; and this one's from the Island Council; and this is representor of the Police Department. And we have come here to inform you that we do not like the way your guests are going through the town in their underpants. And then I said, 'Are these male or female guests?' ... You know I was making jokes of it and they were deadly serious...eventually I sort of caught their mood and I said yes I think I know who you must be talking about and they must be wearing their togs, their swimming togs...after a bit of discussion and everything else, I'll inform that yes they should have a little more on them than swimming togs.

On the same island, while this research was being conducted, a similar event occurred. A sole European (Italian) female tourist went into one of the villages on a motorbike wearing a bikini. She was subsequently spoken to by one of the *Ariki*, who admonished her for her lack of clothing. Of the five interviews conducted the day after the event, all interviewees mentioned the Italian woman's attire in negative terms.

(d) **Effects: Negative or Positive?** In relation to standards of dress, what is a negative impact to older Cook Islanders is often seen as a positive change to many of the young ones. Younger Cook Islanders (under the age of approximately 30) made comments such as,

I like looking at the way they dress, their styles, what they wear. I think here it's not really styles. With tourists, I look at their clothes and imitate.

Tourists were seen by many young Cook Islanders as a means of keeping up with styles and trends from overseas. As another young Cook Islander said,

...every time I see a tourist, I wish I was a tourist. I have friends who feel the same. I'm going to travel, be a tourist.

Other younger people saw tourism as a means of modernising their lifestyles,

...trying to go modern ways, like using forks and cups. The way we cook our food, we used to use *umu*, now we use gas or kerosene and pots. The way of clothing, now we use modern fabric.

Although it was primarily younger people who viewed the adoption of Western lifestyles moulded on those of the tourists as beneficial, some (though not many), older respondents also felt modernisation was desirable, as indicated by the responses of some of the older interviewees:

There's no harm in changing, but we must change the right ways;
I always dream about change. I always want to see change take place;

We need a bit of change because some of my people want to change a few things because tourism is making Cook Islander's life more;

and,

To me it's good to change. We're now in modern; those days is gone.

(e) **Religion.** One of the aspects of Cook Islands culture that people did not want to see changed, yet felt was being affected by tourism, was religion. Sunday trading, and the seven days a week nature of work in the tourist resorts were cited as a factor in reducing church attendance, particularly in Rarotonga. One Cook Islander commenting on the changes wrought by tourism said,

Using our Sunday. They (tourists) can do anything they want to, like tours. Locals have to work (on a Sunday) to satisfy them.

On Aitutaki, the effects of tourism on religion was very topical at the time of the research as the possibility of allowing flights on Sundays was being explored. Local animosity towards this idea ran high amongst those not involved in the tourism industry, as it was felt strongly that Sundays should remain sacred. However, those who stood to gain from more tourists on the island tended to be supportive of the idea. Related to this was the issue of allowing lagoon tours on a Sunday. One of the main features of Aitutaki is its beautiful lagoon and a popular tourist activity is to travel by boat to the *motu* (small islets in the lagoon). At the time of the research, tours were not allowed on Sundays, however, some operators disregarded this and took tourists out. Interestingly, several locals did not regard this as the fault of tourists, but rather as a fault of the local Cook Islander operators who took the tourists out, as indicated by the following statement,

They (tourists) like to be taken for island tour on Sunday ...Our locals observe Sunday. It's not the fault of the tourists, it's the fault of the boat owners who sneak out to take tourists on Sundays.

(f) **Language.** Another area that many Cook Islanders expressed concern about was the effect that tourism was having on the use of the indigenous language, Cook Islands Maori. English is seen as the 'language of tourism', and those wanting jobs in the tourism sector are often required to be fluent speakers. As much of the employment in Rarotonga in particular is reliant on tourism, the use of English is becoming more common place, as was seen in the quantitative results. This raised a great deal of concern for some Cook Islanders (Rarotongans in particular), as,

if you don't have your language, you don't have your culture...If something isn't done to keep it alive as in the everyday language, I think our culture will go along with it.

The increase in the use of English is not exclusive to Rarotonga. One respondent, who was involved in the tourism industry on Aitutaki, said about her own use of Cook Islands Maori,

But as it is now I think it is 75 percent I speak Maori. But if I stay there and hang on with the tourism industry, probably maybe fifty-fifty, and gradually go down to 35 percent. They don't have to speak Maori in Rarotonga now; people speak English more than Maori. Over here, we are the opposite, more Maori. But then what will happen in ten years? What will happen if they bring the rich tourists over here and change everything? Then we will be speaking more English than Maori. And probably we might lose our language like the Hawaiians have.

As with the changes in dress and other incidences of the demonstration effect, not all Cook Islanders perceived the increase in the use of English as a negative effect of tourism. Many respondents, particularly those in the outer islands, and younger people, saw tourism as a means of practicing their English and improving it. In the outer islands, English is often taught as a second language in the schools. Many teachers and older students saw intercultural contact with the tourists as a means of practicing English with a native speaker. Improving their English, (or its general use), did not have the negative connotations for outer islanders as it did for Rarotongans. For the most part, outer islanders did not see fluency in English as a means of attaining work in the tourism sector, as did Rarotongans. Rather, speaking English was viewed in educational terms, as one respondent on Mitiaro indicated,

...that will improve to our young generation, especially in the language. On Mitiaro the only place children speak English is at school, but I have seen a lot of them talking to tourists. That will improve their language.

It was primarily in Rarotonga, the island with the lowest average use of Maori, that the shift to the use of English was perceived as negative. Responses from subjects on Rarotonga such as,

...if you don't have your language, you don't have your culture...rapidly our language is being lost...I feel as though with greater contact with tourists, ...Cook Islanders tend to speak English all the time when they are in contact with tourists; they speak English. And greater and greater a situation like New Zealand where you only use it (Maori) on a *marae* setting or when you're having a *hui* or something...it just becomes a preserved language you pull out for special occasions. Unless something is done to keep it (Maori) alive as the everyday language, I think our culture will go along with it. So whether more exposure to tourism promoting our culture before the tourists is going to help or not, I'm not too sure;

With tourism, must communicate with the tourists, must speak in English. If you want a job in tourism, it asks in the ads if you speak English. You start losing the culture; if you're not learning the language, lose the culture;

and,

I think it (tourism) is affecting the culture in Rarotonga...you hardly see anyone speaking Maori in Rarotonga, even the little kids"

typify the concerns expressed.

(g) **Education**. Similarly, tourism was seen by some to be an opportunity to both learn from the tourists, as well as educate them about Cook Islands culture. Emphasis was often placed on the opportunity to exchange information, as indicated by one respondent who stated,

It's good to be with other people and talk with them. I learn from them and they learn from me my culture. It's kind of exchange.

In the outer islands, particularly in Atiu and Mitiaro, tourism was seen as a means of having *in vivo* contact with the world outside the Cook Islands, a world that many Cook Islanders only experience vicariously through video, television and other media. Even in Rarotonga with its comparatively higher contact with Western countries, interaction with tourists was seen as a means of keeping up with current world affairs. In Atiu and Mitiaro, tourists were often invited to the schools to speak

to the children about the countries from which they came. This was viewed very positively by adults and children alike.

Many respondents also emphasised that the education was a two way process; tourists had the opportunity to learn about the Cook Islands. As one respondent stated,

We need to show them our culture. Our culture's not just for us; it's to share...We need tourism to share our culture and customs.

Several respondents felt that this was why tourists travelled to their island, which in the case of Atiu and Mitiaro may be quite accurate as these islands tend to attract elite and off-beat tourists, who generally have a genuine interest in the local culture. For example, visits to events and attractions such as the *tumunu* (bush beer school), *Te Ana O Raka* and *Rima Rau* (burial caves) and *Anatakitaki* (the cave home of the kopeka) on Atiu and *Te Pare* (ruins of a fort) and *Takero Marae* on Mitiaro are typical of the interests of tourists who travel to these outer islands.

Some respondents also had hopes that by having a reciprocal exchange of information and education that this may potentially lead to better intercultural understanding as indicated by the following comment,

I would say that although it shouldn't overpopulate I like to see tourists come. They come and go, and I like to see them come. Maybe by getting together with tourists we will be one people and come together and enjoy living together as one people.

(h) **Social**. The social aspect of contact with tourists was also viewed by many to be one of tourism's positive effects and was associated with the conceptualisation of

tourists as visitors or guests. On these small, sparsely populated islands, 'new faces' were often a welcome sight; "We see new people, not just the old ones". In the outer islands, where the distinction between "tourist" and "guest" was often not made, the opportunity to make "friends" with the tourists was often emphasised. Both adults and younger people felt that the social contact they had with tourists meant that they were "friends", and several expected that this friendship would be reciprocated and sustained. One respondent's comment of,

Make friends, I like making friends with them. We can write letters as a hobby. If you are nice with the tourists, they will return that to you,

typifies this belief.

(i) **Economic**. The outcome of tourism which was perceived to have had the most pervasive consequences was that of economic impacts. The effects of the economic impacts of tourism in the Cook Islands are complex and affect many areas. The most obvious of the economic effects is the revenue which tourism brings into the Cook Islands. Most respondents were aware that tourism is the mainstay of the Cook Islands economy, and that without it the Cook Islands would struggle to support its population. Even in Atiu and Mitiaro with their limited number of tourists, the importance of tourism to the Cook Islands economy was recognised; "It's good because they bring in the money for the Cook Islands", was typical of this conceptual link between tourism and benefits for the Cook Islands economy.

The economic benefits of tourism were also expressed in terms of employment opportunities. In the outer islands, increased employment opportunities were seen as

both a means of stemming the flow of young people to Rarotonga and overseas in search of work, as well as providing economic benefits for the community as a whole.

Despite this recognition of the economic benefits of tourism, many respondents, particularly those on Rarotonga, cited concomitant rises in the cost of living, ("...although we are getting this revenue, the cost of living is being forced up ..."), as a negative economic impact of tourism on the island. A move away from subsistence based activities was also seen as a negative consequence, particularly in the outer islands. One interviewee who held concerns that tourism would affect the subsistence base said,

Well, if tourism is brought here with the hope of making money, it will affect the population...perhaps they would like to earn money through working for those who have the accommodation...they may not like to work on their plantations again, and would see money in the tourists.

Another outer island respondent said,

...before we change to tourism industry we were having agriculture as the backbone of this place; everybody has the opportunity to gain and work or to get money from the industry of agriculture, but now it has switched to tourism industry. Only a few people benefit I think, only a few from the tourism. The locals don't get any benefit from here and the tourism industry.

These types consequences are much further reaching than just having an impact on the financial situation of Cook Islanders; the economic impacts of tourism are closely interrelated with other impacts. Traditionally, subsistence based activities such as fishing, and tending family owned plantation lands, relied upon a high degree of cooperation and collectivism in order to function, thereby reinforcing the collective nature of the society. A move towards waged employment in the tourism sector, with

an average working week of 40 hours, means that those employed in the industry have little time to participate in subsistence activities. A breakdown in the cooperative nature of subsistence activities could potentially threaten the collective character of Cook Islands society. It could also be hypothesised that if this trend were to continue, plantation lands could lose their value (as providers of food) and new means of augmenting their value may be sought, such as leasing them out for development (as has been seen in other tourism destinations such as Hawaii eg. Minerbi, 1992), to support the need to keep pace with inflation and to purchase food. As one respondent lamented, "...people sell fresh fish so they can buy canned".

This move away from the subsistence base may also have wider lifestyle implications. An informant from the Department of Health reported that Cook Islanders' increased consumption of processed foods (which are available most widely on Rarotonga and Aitutaki) was one of the major contributing factors to an increase in non-communicable diseases in the Islands. Although there is evidence to suggest that Cook Islanders are relying increasingly on purchased foods, this has resulted from several factors. Tourism is likely to have made some contribution to this increase through employment, (both in terms of the time commitment required by work in the tourism industry as discussed above and discretionary income which can be spent on purchased foods), the demonstration effect and the increased availability of imported and processed foods required to support the tourism industry. However, tourism is unlikely to be the main factor; other acculturative influences such as greater access to imported goods in general, advertising, overseas travel and returning migrants all contribute to this trend.

Despite this concern about the move away from subsistence activities, some respondents saw the possibility of an increase in agricultural production resulting from tourism in the form of growing produce to supply the resorts and restaurants. Many felt that the increased flights resulting from tourism (both domestic and international), provided better transport for produce, thus increasing the market. However, as one local stated pessimistically,

Tourism hasn't helped agriculture here, people (tourists) want what they're used to, not local produce.

The increased cost of inflation may also been linked to deterioration of the extended family. As wage earners increasingly struggle to 'make ends meet', they may only be able to support a nuclear family. There was some evidence on Rarotonga to support this trend,

...the cost of living is being forced up, and one thing must impact on the way the people think. Where you would have had a people who were very, very generous in as far as what they have in sharing, and where your extended family, attitude and relationship is very close. I mean the economic situation plays on the minds of the people, where perhaps your relative at one time was quite willing to give you \$20, you'd have to think twice because their personal needs are coming more to the core than the needs of others. Now it might not seem so obvious, but I think the signs are there, and I think it's a major impact- incomes...of course the informal family sort of control their influences on our attitudes is still there, but I think it's being strained.

Another Rarotongan respondent added,

Families are now becoming nuclear families; there isn't the demand for one big house for Mum, Dad, Grandpa, Gramma and the nieces and nephews and that. That's rapidly going out the door...whether it's a reaction to tourism or just the fact that we are becoming so modernised and family structure is changing, but it is happening. People, young people, prefer to live on their own...and of course you get a lot of the problems associated with that....

Previous research on Aitutaki (Graves & Graves, 1978 & 1979) also found an increase in nuclear families on that island.

A particularly interesting pattern in the data was that the positive economic effects of tourism were seen primarily in terms of benefits to the wider community, either the Cook Islands as a whole, or to an entire island. The positive aspects often mentioned included improvements to the local infrastructure, more money in the local economy in general and the support of local artisans and craft people. It was rare that emphasis was placed on economic benefits for the individual. In fact, economic gains accrued by individuals that were not observed to benefit the larger community were seen in negative terms by many respondents. This was in part due to many subjects either not being aware of the costs and overheads of running a tourism enterprise, or not perceiving, a 'trickle down' effect of the money operators were making. More commonly however, was that individual gain was viewed as not supporting the collective and represented a move towards a more individualistic orientation in general. On one of the outer islands, a local indicated this when she discussed her perception that money from the guesthouses only went into the pockets of the owners and was not shared around the community. On another outer island, the owner of a local accommodation recounted how her extended family had had the expectation that they would receive a hearty share of the proceeds of the venture (in addition to the money they received for the leasing of family land), despite their not working or contributing to the enterprise. This had caused considerable conflict with family members who believed that the owner of the unit was 'pocketing' hundreds of dollars a week without

fulfilling her familial obligations. On the same island, a local summed up his feelings about the revenue from the accommodation,

All I see is that the good things go to (owner of accommodation). (The owner) gets the money. Most benefits go to (the accommodation), not the community.

There was minimal understanding of the capital and infrastructure required to both establish and support the continuing operation of the accommodation. Another outer island resident felt that only a single resident on the island benefited from tourism through running a guesthouse. The previous proprietor had donated one dollar per guest to the Island Council, however, the current owner had ceased this practice,

...every new member came to at his home he always gave a dollar, in the to the Island Council. Then I can say yes we had a bit of benefit, but now there is nothing, no benefit for the island, it's just for the guesthouse.

(j) **Reciprocity, Hospitality, Generosity and Aroa**. Hospitality and generosity are integral parts of Cook Islands culture,

Well, you see what makes the place is the people and the attitudes of the people. And one of the things that tends to make Cook islands people different is their openness, their generosity and their tremendous value of human life...I believe we can be identified because of our attitude you know, our openness, you know, our honesty and our value for human life. I think that's the most precious thing we have.

The shift towards a monied economy has raised concerns that tourism had placed a 'price' on these intangible aspects of Cook Islands culture;

Tourism has affected the way people look at things, they put a price on things.

On Aitutaki in particular, one aspect that raised distinct concerns was the effect that tourism had on "aroa ways". Some felt that traditional generosity was dying out. One

respondent cited fishing as an example, saying that previously, a large catch would be shared out amongst the community, but now the emphasis was placed on the monetary value of the fish. If a fisherman found that he had extra fish, rather than sharing it out, it was often sold to local restaurants and resorts. A respondent who owned tourism accommodation on Aitutaki stated,

...maybe the locals don't see the change. With us in the tourism industry, we see change, and we see what's happening, and people get much more greedier than ten years ago. We (didn't) buy fruit, we (didn't) buy bananas, we (didn't) buy all those things that people give, but now people because of money buy...we have to buy everything that we want, which is sad...like the *aroa*, the ways of you know, I think they still do that over here...but if it (tourism) goes on big then they're going to (pause)...*aroa*, I think it is very important and it will go away. And I only wish the locals will hold on to that because that is our nature...I think that will change, *aroa*....

Other residents of Aitutaki expressed similar concerns, such as,

People are not as friendly as they were before. I often hear tourists say they are good, but the island is becoming so commercialised. Before when people smiled and waved, they were genuine. Now they don't care;

One thing that's dying is generosity, hospitality...now it's all for money, how much they can get for it;

and,

If more tourists the culture could easily be affected, traditional things, our way of sharing, our closeness. The closeness of the people I knew as a boy is becoming more individual, especially here. It's no good...Before we accepted others into our homes, now we are more individual. You do your own thing and not help others.

However, this concern was much less prevalent in the other outer islands (Atiu and Mitiaro); traditional hospitality and generosity tended to be extended without expectations of remuneration, as indicated by the following observation,

...They'll (tourists) walk down a path and there will be somebody husking coconuts and they'll come over specially and give you a coconut. In fact, they wouldn't think of letting you walk past without

offering you the coconut. So that happens here, but not in Rarotonga, not any more....

This generosity is something I personally experienced repeatedly in the outer islands; many invitations were received to join locals for meals, to accompany people on outings to the plantations (where I was always given food), to visit different island locations and I was often included in special events which were occurring on the islands. It is not to say that hospitality was not extended to me on Rarotonga, as it was, but not as frequently as in the outer islands.

It is interesting to note that opinion on Rarotonga about the effect of tourism on traditional generosity and hospitality stands out, not for its prevalence, but rather for the lack of its mention. Respondents in Rarotonga were much more likely to mention the effect of commodification on inflation, rather than on relationships. In general, Rarotongans tended to stress the economic benefits of tourism over other benefits, whereas those in the outer islands emphasised the interpersonal benefits of tourism. And while acknowledging that tourism had had some positive economic benefits, particularly in terms of its benefits to the entire community, residents in the outer islands lamented the negative impacts that a monetised economy had brought.

The generosity and hospitality proffered to tourists in the outer islands appeared to be related to the lack of touristic development and the conceptualisation of tourists as "friends" or "guests", thus cultural obligation dictated that *aroha* should be extended. In Rarotonga, with its more advanced stage of tourism development, hospitality, for the most part, was offered to tourists in a less authentic, and a more

institutionalised manner. However, it was on Aitutaki, that the greatest concern about the economic effects of tourism on *aroa* were expressed. Aitutaki, despite its relatively high tourist-host density has not reached the level of institutionalisation of tourism as that of Rarotonga, yet it has significantly more tourism development than the other outer islands included in the research. It may be that Aitutaki is at a critical point in its tourism development, and that as tourism becomes more institutionalised, the balance of maintaining *aroa* ways with the economic demands of tourism may become more difficult.

(k) ***Mana***. Associated with the effect of tourism on *aroa* is the impact tourism has upon *mana*. Traditionally in Cook Island society, as in other Polynesian nations, *mana* was bestowed through birth or achievement. However, with the introduction of a monetised economy, and the shift towards payment for services and goods *in lieu* of *aroa*, money (and the goods it can purchase) have become an increasing means of achieving status. Those who may not have been considered to have *mana* may achieve a type of *mana* through the acquisition of money. Concomitantly, people and events that traditionally possess *mana* may experience a relative loss of status as a result. Considering that *mana* may act in helping to ascertain the ideal which the community desires, changes in the defining characteristics may have wide reaching effects which would be further reinforced by people aspiring to achieve *mana* themselves. As a respondent in Rarotonga said,

...they (tourists) think they can buy their way into everything...it does happen and it detracts from the traditional purpose of such functions...an example I can take from experience is the investiture of our *Arikis*...at one stage...it would be very rare for for an outsider to sort of participate, or at least be there on the *marae* during the investiture ceremony. These days it's practically publicised and it's, you get bus loads of tourists and, just coming out to have a look at the

investiture. And they're into mingling with the *Ariki* and all that, so the *mana*, which is normally reserved for such a setting is being eroded...it goes back to the *mana*. The *mana* demands respect from people. Okay, by *mana* it doesn't mean sort of getting down on your knees and bow every time an *Ariki* comes past, but you respect them for the authority that they hold, the position. And with the sort of glamour, commercialisation, I feel that *mana* is really being eroded...for the younger generation it's hard for them to distinguish...between the rank and just normality...I think it gets pretty hazed over. And that does have a bearing on the younger generation I feel, 'cause if you look up to somebody that gives you an ideal and gives you something to set your sights on, and a lot of people learn from such situations, but if they don't have any sights, any ideals to look up to, well what do they base them on? Probably something from overseas....

Another respondent on Rarotonga said,

And people don't want to listen to the *mana* or power thing again. But you know, to be able to instil that *mana* or power on *maraes* people are not allowed to use cash, they're not allowed to use certain things at all that will destroy the *mana*; it has to be spiritual...And that way it destroys the *mana* (accepting money). There's no spiritual connection again with that thing because while a cheque's been invested and while the tourists are watching, he's thinking money. He is. He's looking at the tourist and thinking 'I could make millions if I charge them to come and watch me being invested as a high priest...' *Mana* is lost here...In the olden days you would never dare step on a *marae*. Now-a-days I can take a guide and walk along the *maraes*, no problem. I mean he's (the tourist) paid for his visit here; he's going to pay me.

The effects of tourism on *mana* did not seem to be salient change in the outer islands, however this sort of impact appeared to be coming to the fore in Rarotonga. This again may be related to the stage of tourism development in Rarotonga, resulting in more financial opportunities.

The type of tourist may also have a bearing on the effects of tourism on *mana*. As was indicated previously, the outer islands tend to attract a type of tourist who is more inclined to have a genuine interest in the culture of the island, and as a result,

may often be more prepared to adapt to local ways. The genuine interest in the culture of the islands (or even the perception of it), may help reinforce *mana*, particularly as the tourists are perceived as “friends” or “guests”, who one would assume would reinforce that status of someone or something more than would the ubiquitous strangers (“tourists”) on Rarotonga. In addition, the emphasis on the non-economic benefits of tourism in the outer islands may mean that financial gain, though desirable, may not convey the same degree of status as it does on more Westernised Rarotonga.

An additional aspect of tourism which may be having an effect on *mana* is the perceived impact that tourism has had on the arts and material culture. In Rarotonga, and to a lesser degree Aitutaki, there was a perception that the dance style in particular, was being modified to meet the demands of the tourists. Many interviewees complained that the dancing had been “livened up” by the importation of choreography from Hawaii and Tahiti, and the addition of suggestive costumes to interest the tourists. There was some resentment expressed that tourists were not satisfied with the Cook Islands conservative dancing, and a concern that the dancing was losing its traditional meaning as a result,

I think changes have been made to entertain tourists. Our dancing, our Cook Islands dancing is so different than what's being performed for the tourists. We have more tourists coming here, the dancing has been so suggestive. It's not our way of dancing. Tahitian and Hawaiian dancing has been brought in. Before, it was like you saw in Mitiaro (in reference too a wedding I had attended), now the dancing doesn't mean anything. The sexy was looked down on; now it is acceptable.

As the traditional meaning of the dancing was perceived to be altered, this too may have a negative impact on *mana*.

However, there were a few respondents who viewed the effects of tourism on the material culture and arts of the Cook Islands as being positive, and contributing to a 'cultural renaissance', thus perhaps enhancing *mana*,

On culture, more of a positive than a negative side. (Tourism) provides locals the opportunity to show off the culture; it forces us to learn more about our own drumming and dancing, singing and arts and crafts. I believe it's promoted here by tourism.

Although some positive sentiment was expressed about tourism acting as a catalyst for a 'cultural renaissance', as indicated above, for the most part, when respondents spoke of the effects of tourism on the arts and material culture of the Cook Islands, it was with concern about the potential (or already perceived) negative effects.

(I) Change in Perspective. An interesting pattern of differences in the perceptions of tourism between the islands emerged from the data. Outer islanders frequently expressed concern about the changes that tourism had affected on their islands, but were often quick to point out that despite the effects they had experienced, they had not, and did not want to, become like Rarotonga. There was often a perception that although tourism may have affected their (outer) island, it was Rarotonga that had experienced by far the greater amount of negative impacts. These undesirable effects of tourism witnessed in Rarotonga were something outer islanders wanted to learn from and avoid,

I think it's stupid (expanding the tourism industry on the outer island), we'll be like Raro. They're plastic, we're real, but not for long (if the industry expands).

Many outer islanders also commented that they felt Rarotonga was becoming like Tahiti or Hawaii. Rarotongans on the other hand did not perceive that they had become like Tahiti or Hawaii (yet), but held concerns that tourism on their island should not become like that experienced on those islands. Like the outer islanders looking toward Rarotonga for examples of 'what not to do' with their tourism industry, many respondents in Rarotonga used Tahiti and Hawaii as explicit examples of what the Cook Islands should avoid with its tourism industry, particularly as related to land tenure, cost of living, effects on the arts and material culture and the loss of indigenous language.

It appeared as though the respondents were able to cope successfully for the most part with the stage of tourism development experienced on their own island. However, the anticipation that tourism would effect negative changes should it continue to progress was often expressed, particularly if the changes were perceived to be progressing towards the higher level of institutionalised tourism as seen in other Pacific nations.

(3) Coping with the Effects of Tourism: A Summary of the Results

Despite the changes that acculturation and tourism have affected in the Cook Islands, the quantitative and qualitative data suggest that many of the negative aspects that are often concomitant with these changes (as discussed in the Literature Review), do not appear to have resulted, or have occurred to lesser degrees.

It would appear that the Cook Islands possess many of the features which the research literature suggests make it almost inevitable that negative outcomes will result. The Cook Islands have experienced acculturation through colonisation, the influence of missionaries, the introduction of Western mass media, migration (particularly in relation to returning migrants), citizens who travel overseas regularly and tourism. Rarotonga in particular has experienced higher levels of many of these acculturative influences. In considering tourism as an acculturative influence, the Cook Islands possess many of the factors associated with negative consequences. These include factors such as: a small population base and a high ratio of tourists to hosts; island communities; a change from subsistence to monetised economies; a high economic reliance on tourism; and a rapid growth of tourism. There have been changes resulting from tourism, particularly on Rarotonga, and many Cook Islanders perceive these as being negative. And obviously, with increases in tourism numbers, there have certainly been physical changes to the Cook Islands, (especially Rarotonga), in the form of environmental impacts, more buildings, increased traffic, etc. However, the quantitative and qualitative data suggest that although there were *concerns* about the effects of tourism, there was not conclusive evidence that this has resulted in widespread, negative *psychological* consequences at this time.

The results of the qualitative data concur with the quantitative data, particularly the measure of acculturative stress, which found no indication of significant levels of stress related symptomatology. The question of the validity of the scale used to assess acculturative stress was raised in the discussion of the quantitative results. Taken in conjunction with the qualitative results, the data suggest that the scale may have

measured accurately an overall low level of stress amongst the respondents sampled, despite the acculturative influences experienced. In considering tourism as an acculturative influence, the data suggest that the Cook Islanders sampled were coping with the effects of tourism, and at the time of data collection, had sustained the means to moderate the negative psychological consequences, despite the differing types and levels of tourism experienced on the four islands researched. As one set of authors stated,

Has tourism spoiled the Cook Islands, as so many claimed it would? More than a decade after the first of the big jets flew in, the answer must be a resounding 'No!' (Douglas & Douglas, 1987, p. 6).

The question remains then, if Cook Islanders have been able to moderate the negative psychological impacts of tourism, by what means have they been able to do so? Each of the four islands sampled had experienced varying degrees and types of tourism, (as well as varying degrees of acculturation), and respondents on all four islands expressed some concerns about the effects of tourism, yet there were no significant differences in their abilities to cope as measured both quantitatively and qualitatively. The qualitative data suggest that there are specific factors which may help moderate the negative effects of acculturation in the context of tourism. Informed by grounded theory, these data were used to develop a conceptual framework to address the question posed regarding what factors may moderate the effects of tourism in the Cook Islands.

III. A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND DISCUSSION

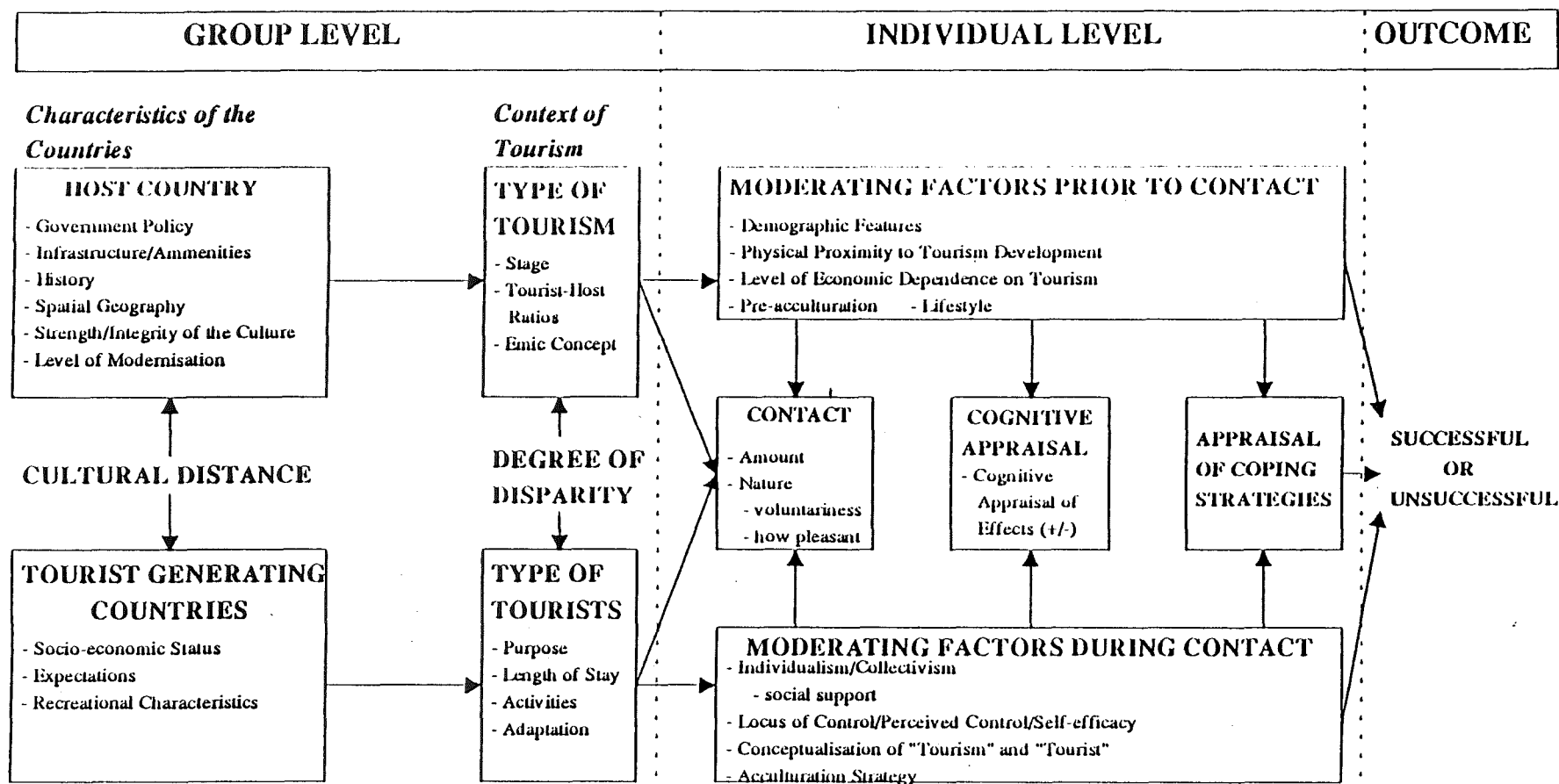
If it is indeed the case that many Cook Islanders have so far been able to avoid many of the negative effects of tourism, the question remains as to what factors facilitate this resilience and moderate the negative effects of acculturation in the context of tourism.

A conceptual framework (Figure 3.1) is proposed to illustrate the socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism and the factors which may moderate the effects and the outcomes. Tourism in the Cook Islands is presented as a case study.

The review of cross-cultural research and literature suggested that negative outcomes may arise during acculturation, but they are not inevitable, and seem to depend on a variety of group and individual characteristics. Figure 3.1 acknowledges these characteristics. On the group or socio-cultural level, the characteristics of both the host country and the country (or countries) of origin of the tourists, both contribute to the *context* in which tourism occurs and hence, shape the type of contact that the host nationals are likely to have with tourists. As indicated by both Berry (1992) and Dogan (1989), not all individuals within a society experience the effects of acculturation or tourism in the same way, or to the same degree, and there are varying degrees of behaviours and consequences as a result. Individual level variables which contribute to the process of a potentially stressful encounter (intercultural contact with tourists), must be accounted for, as does the eventual outcome for the individual. The discussion of the conceptual framework will follow this progression: first, a discussion

FIGURE 3.1

Socio-Cultural and Psychological Effects of Tourism in the Cook Islands, as Moderated by Other Factors



of the group level variables which contribute to the type of tourism experienced by a country, thus providing the context for the individual's experience of tourism; the individual level variables which affect each person's experience of tourism as an acculturative influence; and finally, how these factors contribute to the outcome for the individual.

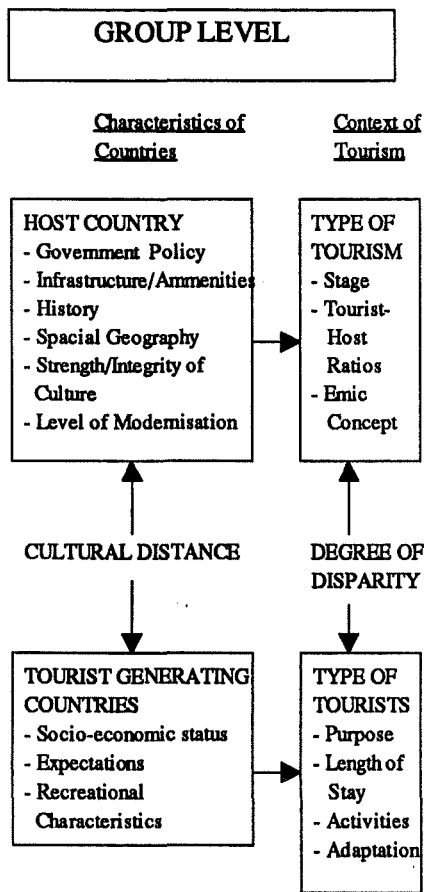
(1) Group Level Variables of the Host Country

Some variables associated with tourism as an acculturative influence are broad, societal level factors which affect almost all the members of a group or population to some degree. On the group (or population) level, variables affecting the outcome of acculturation in the context of tourism may be further delineated on the basis of whether they are variables associated with characteristics of the *countries* (hosts' and tourists'), or whether they are group level characteristics of *tourism* related to the host and generating countries (Figure 3.1A).

(a) Host Country Governmental Policies Towards Tourism. The host country's governmental policies towards tourism dictate the overall climate of tourism in a country. Tourism is unlikely to be sustained or to progress unless the government actively promotes policy in favour of it. Governmental policy also dictates *how* tourism will progress in a country, thus influencing how it will impact upon the residents. Policies for sustainable, controlled tourism development are likely to have a moderating effect in terms of some of the potentially negative impacts. Governmental

promotion of tourism development without due consideration of or policies directed at moderating its effects is more likely to result in negative outcomes.

FIGURE 3.1A
Group Level Variables



In the Cook Islands, the government has taken an active role in tourism development since the 1970s, and has adopted a policy of “controlled” tourism,

Tourism shall continue to be developed at a moderate rate and in keeping with the objectives of controlled and balanced tourism, to optimise the local economic benefits and ensure its widespread distribution within the society and among the islands, while also ensuring the conservation on the natural environment and enhancing it. The Cook Islands culture and traditions will be maintained and reinforced (Cook Islands Government, 1988, p. 33).

Thus, a climate of controlled development in the interest of Cook Islanders is promoted, and reinforced, by the government in the Cook Islands. This has resulted in a high percentage of local control and ownership of tourism facilities, which helps support the retention of tourism revenue within the country.

Despite the policy for controlled tourism development in the interest of Cook Islanders, one of the more contentious issues raised by interviewees, particularly in Rarotonga, was the construction of a Sheraton resort hotel on that island. Many people, including some on outer islands, felt that the Sheraton marked a change in the balance of tourism on the islands and the way in which tourism was administered by the government. Concern was expressed that already there had been a high degree of economic leakage (both through financial problems with the project and the use of foreign workers on the construction site). There was concern that this leakage would continue with franchises for the resort being tendered to off-shore companies and the importation of foreign workers to service the hotel, as locals might be perceived as not being able to maintain the standards required by this type of establishment. Additional concern was expressed that the Sheraton may also attract a new type of tourist to the Islands, one who because of the high price paid, would not be satisfied with things done the 'Pacific Way'. However, whether these concerns will eventuate and whether government policy will continue to be able to safeguard the interests of Cook Islanders remains to be seen, as the project is not yet complete.

The tourism decision making process in the Cook Islands (as detailed in the Literature Review) also helps reinforce this aspect of controlled development and local

involvement. Thus, although the Cook Islands actively promote tourism development, current governmental policy is such that it has helped promote a positive tourism context.

(b) **Infrastructure and Amenities.** Another previously identified group level variable of the host country which needs to be considered is the presence (or absence) of the necessary infrastructure and amenities to support adequately the tourism industry. Without adequate infrastructure and amenities, tourism development is hindered in its ability to progress to any significant or sustainable degree. Lack of adequate infrastructure and amenities can also have negative impacts for the host population if they have to 'compete' with tourists for the limited resources. Additionally, the type of infrastructure and amenities available affects the type of tourist who frequents a destination, thus having an influence on the potential effects of tourism for that region (as discussed in the Literature Review).

At the present time, the Cook Islands have adequate infrastructure and amenities to support its current level of tourism. It is also felt that the infrastructure has the capacity to support projected growth in tourist numbers over the next 20 years (RPTESG, 1991). Despite this, many respondents expressed some concerns about the infrastructure and amenities in the Cook Islands. Although respondents did not feel that the capacity was being exceeded yet, and thus was not having a detrimental impact upon them, concerns were expressed that if tourism were to expand, that it would place strains on the water supplies, rubbish disposal and sewerage system; and that Cook Islanders would be the ones to suffer as a result of this. As one respondent

stated in relation to the effects of tourism on demand for resources, "The tourists, they come and go, but we locals must pay the price".

The issue of the capacity of infrastructure and amenities in the Cook Islands was very timely and to the fore when the fieldwork for this research was conducted. The second trip to the field (July-October 1992) was just prior to Rarotonga hosting the Festival of Pacific Arts, and an influx of several thousands of tourists to the island was anticipated. Concern was expressed on Rarotonga as to whether the local infrastructure (the water supply in particular) would be able to cope with this influx. In addition, there were reservations about the availability of adequate accommodation to host visitors, and sufficient food to feed them all. Some ex-patriots in the outer islands reported that they were planning to leave the Cook Islands during the Festival as they had heard that most of the fresh foodstuffs on the outer islands were being sent to Rarotonga to feed the visitors, and they had concerns about severe food shortages in the outer islands for those left behind. As such, the emphasis placed on the issue of infrastructure and amenities may have been disproportionate because of the context at the time of the fieldwork. Despite this, the presence or absence of adequate infrastructure and amenities to sustain the hosts as well as the tourists will have a bearing on the consequences of tourism in the Cook Islands.

Adequate infrastructure and amenities also played another role in the perceptions of tourism development in the outer Cook Islands. As was discussed above, in the outer islands, a clear conceptualisation of tourism and its implications was not always present. Often when subjects spoke of future additional tourism

development to their islands and its impacts, respondents cited that tourism was unlikely to grow on their islands because they lacked the infrastructure and amenities to support it (which is essentially true). Several did not appreciate that infrastructure and amenities could be expanded and improved to support future growth. This belief, in many ways, acted to insulate people from some of the negative impacts of tourism. On Mitiaro and Atiu in particular, the belief that tourism would not increase because it could not, resulted in a lack of rumination about its possible consequences.

Consistent with the quantitative results, on Rarotonga and Aitutaki, subjects, many of whom felt that tourism at its present level was acceptable, even beneficial, expressed concerns regarding the consequences if it were to expand. These subjects, with their more sophisticated comprehension of tourism, also appreciated that it was likely to expand.

(c) **Historical Context of the Country.** The history of a tourist destination will also have an influence on host nationals' ability to cope with the stresses imposed as a result of tourism. Some of the literature reviewed in preparation for this thesis suggests that nations that have had strong colonial ties that continue into the context of tourism will experience a form of "neo-colonialism", whereby the host nationals will replicate their subservient role to the host "masters" through serving them in the tourism industry. This is thought to lead to feelings of resentment and alienation on the part of host nationals.

Although this pattern of tourism is apparent in the Cook Islands (the Cook Islands' main tourism generating country is New Zealand, which previously held the colonial administration in the Cook Islands), "neo-colonialism" does not seem to be a subsequent manifestation of this relationship. By contrast, the Cook Islands' colonial ties to New Zealand appear have had a moderating effect in relation to the consequences of tourism. As a result of the colonial link with New Zealand, the Cook Islands have continued to maintain relatively strong ties with New Zealand; the Cook Islands use a combination of their own and New Zealand currencies, the education system is styled on that of New Zealand and there is wide exposure to New Zealand media (New Zealand television news is broadcast daily, as is news from Radio New Zealand, and New Zealand newspapers and magazines are readily available on Rarotonga). In addition, as was seen in the quantitative data, almost all Cook Islanders have some links with New Zealand, either through having lived or visited there themselves, or having relatives living in New Zealand. As a result, although New Zealand culture is significantly different from that of the Cook Islands, the cultural distance between hosts and tourists is truncated because of the familiarity with the culture of the predominant group of tourists visiting the Islands.

(d) Spatial Geography. Another characteristic of the host country which may impact on the experience of tourism is that of spacial geography. For example, islands have very clear boundaries and small islands may have very restricted space. This can be further exacerbated by terrain; islands with rugged terrain have their habitable space even further reduced forcing tourist and hosts into close proximity, often causing them

to compete for the same resources (beach and water access, open land for golf courses, etc.).

In the case of the Cook Islands, it would be anticipated that Rarotonga, with its rugged and mostly uninhabited interior, would share some of the difficulties of other small island nations in terms of over crowding and competition for resources, and there was some evidence to support this. One respondent spoke of Cook Islanders being restricted from accessing one of the beaches in front of a major resort,

The hoteliers don't want you, the locals, to hang around on their beach because it might frighten the tourists.

In addition, this interviewee also spoke of environmental changes in areas commonly frequented by tourists, in particular, modifications to the coconut trees,

I mean who's the tourist to come here and so you pick your nuts because I don't want a nut to fall on my head. Who are you to control when a nut falls and who are they to come and tell you...okay the coconut might be just a little part of that change because of the tourism needs, but eventually we give in to these tourists and they will demand more, they know they can bend (us)...We're cleaning up our coconuts trees, our lovely trees.

Another respondent also spoke of the effects of limited space on his experience of tourism,

...I miss seeing things like the old Avarua Wharf. They used to have a pier heading straight out in front of it, and that was all pulled out and what we have now is Trader Jack's (a popular tourist restaurant)...whether it's your house or plantation or whatever, it seems you have a lot of inquisitive tourists who'd be asking questions about it. That brings them into more contact with the local population because they travel around the back road and see something interesting. They'll get off and go have a look at it. If you happen to be at home, you'll end up talking to them... I just get sick of talking to the tourists.

As tourism has increased on Rarotonga, the available space to accommodate them without infringing on the locals has decreased. Contact with the tourists on Rarotonga (and Aitutaki to a lesser degree) is higher as a result, (as was seen in the quantitative results), and people on these islands are less likely to want to spend their free time with tourists.

Getting away from the tourists and retreating into personal space is becoming more difficult on Rarotonga, and some preliminary effects of this are becoming evident. Despite this, Rarotonga has not yet experienced the fierce competition for land and resources that other South Pacific Islands such as Hawaii and Guam have experienced (Minerbi, 1992). This may be due in part to the population distribution in the Cook Islands. Population is fairly evenly distributed around the periphery of Rarotonga as much of the interior is uninhabitable. There are no 'tourist ghettos' *per se*, though there are higher concentrations of tourism facilities in some areas. This means that there are a few highly concentrated areas of tourists and yet still relatively many areas on the island that are void of tourism development. An analogous geographical distribution exists in Aitutaki. Atiu and Mitiaro do not have high enough concentrations of tourists to have any significant impact in this area.

The type of tourist to Rarotonga and Aitutaki may also moderate the effects of spacial geography of tourism. For New Zealanders and Australians (the largest numbers of tourists to the Islands), the Cook Islands have often represented an affordable family holiday destination (which is reflected in the high proportion of self-catering facilities in the Rarotonga). Inexpensive holiday packages have attracted

primarily incipient mass and mass tourists to Rarotonga whose main interests have been 'sun, sand and surf'. As such, many do not seek intimate contact with Cook Islanders, nor do they tend to venture away from the more popular tourist locales. This concurs with the quantitative data which indicated that residents in Rarotonga, outside of work situations, have their main contact with tourists in Avarua, in places such as the grocery store or "in the street". This means that Rarotongans, at this time, despite the high tourist to host ratios, still have the opportunity to retreat from tourists and can avoid contact to a certain degree if they wish (*cf* Te Awekotuku, 1981).

Aitutaki shares these characteristics with Rarotonga, but also has a unique characteristic of its own. Many tourists to Aitutaki are 'day-trippers' from Rarotonga. These tourists fly to Aitutaki, are transported directly from the airport to the lagoon. There they board a boat to one of the *motus* on which they spend the day. They are then transported back to the airport for their return flight to Rarotonga. Their contact with Aitutakians, other than the tour operators they deal with, is very superficial. So residents of Aitutaki do not have the same pressures placed on their space as Rarotonga and also have the opportunity to retreat from contact with the tourists. However, several residents expressed concerns that if tourism expanded, it could place pressures on the use of the lagoon if too many operators were to take tourists out on its waters.

(e) **Strength or Integrity of the Culture.** The strength or integrity of the culture is another group level variable which may moderate the effects of tourism. If a

culture is able to maintain its intrinsic characteristics while at the same time fulfilling the needs of the tourism industry, many negative effects may be avoided.

The effects of tourism on the culture of the Cook Islands is not clear from the data obtained. Whereas many respondents indicated that they did not want to see the culture of the Cook Islands change as a result of tourism, opinion was divided as to whether it had.

In terms of the effect of tourism on the arts of the Cook Islands, many respondents on Rarotonga in particular, felt that tourism had affected the dance style and that dancing had been adapted to suit the tourists' tastes, thus influencing the traditional meaning. I witnessed evidence of this at the *Dancer of the Year* Competition in Rarotonga. Although this is primarily an event for Cook Islanders, it has become a popular tourist attraction. Several of the dancers had obviously deviated from Cook Islands norms in both their dances and their costumes. Costumes made out of clingy fabrics, rather than traditional materials, elicited comments from Cook Islanders about their inappropriateness. Some dance moves also received disapproving comments about their suggestiveness. It was interesting to note that it was only the dancing of women that was commented on in this context. A later interview with a key informant involved in cultural affairs in the Cook Islands further revealed that changes were often made to the staging of dances as well. Numbers of dancers were reduced so they could all fit on a stage and the length of dances were sometimes shortened to be more in keeping with tourist entertainment. This contrasted with the type of dancing I witnessed away from the tourism stage, both in Rarotonga and the

outer islands. Away from the tourist stage, dancing was often a spontaneous response to situations, and 'staged' dancing (for example during Constitution Day celebrations) differed in style, choreography and costuming to the 'staged' dancing in the tourist venues. It appears that to a certain degree many Cook Islanders were able to differentiate between 'tourist' style dancing and the traditional style dancing. So although the significance of the dancing performed for tourists may be declining, its authenticity may be retained outside the tourism context.

In terms of material culture, other respondents reported that they felt that tourism could help rejuvenate or maintain traditional Cook Islands crafts such as weaving and carving. I witnessed evidence of this in a local high school tourism and hospitality class where students were working on projects involving the production of traditional crafts to sell as tourist souvenirs. As one respondent stated,

On culture, I more of a positive than a negative side. Provides locals the opportunity to show off the culture. It forces us to learn more about our own drumming and dancing, singing, arts and crafts. I believe it's promoted here by tourism.

Though others felt that promoting art and crafts through tourism could lead to a decline in their quality and traditional meaning.

On Atiu, a local island custom had been affected by tourism. Atiu is home to the *tumunu*, or "bush beer school", which has its origins in the old pre-Missionary *kava* ceremonies. Traditionally, the *tumunu* were a males only practice, but with the advent of tourism, the rules have been relaxed for tourists, and foreign women are now welcome at the *tumunu*. One of the *tumunu* which is commonly visited by tourists has been "improved". Traditionally a *kikau* (grass) hut, it now boasts a concrete floor and

corrugated steel roof. While I was there, the (*papa' a*) informant who had introduced me to the *tumunu* was quite insistent that I visit the toilet facilities. I did so, and found them to be of a fairly 'basic' standard, made out of concrete and woven mat 'walls' (though it was rather dark when I made the visit). The informant subsequently explained the urgency of the visit. Because female tourists were now welcome to attend the *tumunu*, the men of that particular *tumunu* constructed the uncharacteristic toilets to meet the needs of that group of tourists. The "improvements" to the *tumunu* were viewed positively by its members, and the informant wanted to make sure that I had the opportunity to view first hand, some of the effects of tourism on the culture of Atiu.

As discussed above, many Cook Islanders, particularly those in the outer islands, believed that tourists had a genuine interest in the people and culture of the Cook Islands. This belief, combined with the rejuvenation and/or maintenance of aspects of the culture and the ability to differentiate Cook Islands 'tourist' culture from Cook Islands traditional culture, may help reinforce cultural integrity. This in turn may moderate some of the potential negative effects of tourism. However, as discussed above, the opinions of respondents were divided as to whether the culture of the Cook Islands was being reinforced or corrupted by tourism.

Related to the effects of tourism on the culture of the Cook Islands, are the previously described effects it has had on the decline in the use of the indigenous language. However, the association between language and culture will be reiterated. Language is intimately linked to culture, and some feel that the degree to which the

indigenous language is spoken is an indicator of the strength of cultural identity of the host population (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). As was discussed above, the loss of the Cook Islands Maori language was felt to be widespread. Of particular concern was the limited use of Maori by members of the younger generation on Rarotonga. Many respondents suggested a link between tourism and the decrease in the use of the indigenous language. In the outer islands, where use of Cook Islands Maori is still high, many saw tourism as a means to practice English, and did not view this as a threat to the use of the indigenous language. Rather, it was seen as one of the positive aspects of tourism. Based on this, it could be hypothesised that younger Rarotongans lack the strength of cultural identity that older Cook Islanders and outer island residents have. This is unlikely to be the result of tourism alone, as younger Rarotongans were found to have had wide exposure to many acculturative influences. However, tourism may be one factor in the hastening of the process. This hypothesis that younger Rarotongans have a weaker cultural identity, and as such may be more susceptible to the negative aspects of acculturation is supported by the quantitative data that indicated that younger Cook Islanders had higher levels of acculturative stress.

(f) **General Levels of Modernisation.** The final group level variable in relation to the host population to be considered is that of general levels of modernity. If a population has been subject to modernising influences originating from a dominant Western culture for some time, which have resulted in salient changes to the population, this may moderate the effects of tourism. Exposure to Western influences may serve to 'inoculate' the host country against the additional changes that tourism

might affect by reducing the cultural distance between hosts and guests. Familiarity with Western culture may mean that many cultural influences introduced through tourism are not significantly different from the influences already experienced through the process of modernisation. However, if the population has experienced a significant degree of stress as a result of modernisation, further changes affected by tourism may prove to be the catalyst for negative outcomes.

If the host population has not been subject to notable levels of modernisation, certain features of tourism, such as the conceptualisation of tourism and tourist, and the commodification of interpersonal relationships, and hospitality, may have a more profound effect. As discussed previously, initially, tourism may not have immediate impacts, due to the type of tourist likely to frequent a non-modernised culture. However, if the type of tourist progresses more towards the mass tourist without concomitant changes in the level of modernisation of the culture, this may eventuate in a negative impact.

In the case of the Cook Islands, all of the islands surveyed had experienced modernisation to a certain degree through the country's close association with New Zealand. In particular, the influence of Cook Island migrants returning home (either permanently or on holiday) and the prevalence of videos had had a significant effect because of their social or situational contexts. Rarotonga was the most modernised of the islands; Aitutaki was the only outer island to have experienced modernisation to any significant degree. The levels of modernisation were associated with the accuracy of the conceptualisation of tourism and its associated functions, however, it was not

clear as to whether modernisation, or lack of it, acted to moderate any negative effects of tourism in the Cook Islands.

In the context of tourism, levels of modernisation appeared to be associated with which aspects of tourism were perceived to be either negative or positive, and which aspects of tourism were emphasised. Whereas the outer islanders tended to see tourism as positive in interpersonal terms, Rarotongans saw the main benefits in its positive impact on the economy. Outer islanders emphasised the opportunities to “make friends”, practice English and exchange information; Rarotongans tended to emphasise economic aspects and maintaining their links with Western ideologies, such as fashion, popular culture and current events.

(1) Group Level Variables of Tourism Generating Countries

Just as characteristics of the host country contribute to the process of coping with tourism, characteristics of the tourist generating countries also have an impact. Characteristics of the generating countries contribute to what type of tourist visits a host country, thus affecting the type of contact between hosts and guests and subsequently its effects.

(a) Socio-economic Status. The socio-economic status of the generating country has an some effect on what the type of tourism is engaged in. To travel as a tourist requires adequate discretionary time and money. These conditions are generally associated with developed countries, which by contrast, are often of a higher socio-economic standing than the countries their host national visit. Even within a developed

nation, those possessing the discretionary time and money to travel internationally represent a different 'type' of tourist (economically) than those who can only afford to travel domestically (or not at all). To travel greater distances, particularly to isolated or difficult to access regions, often requires an even higher level of discretionary time and money. If the country of visitation is a developing nation, this can result in great economic disparity between host nationals and tourists, which can lead to negative effects.

To travel to the Cook Islands, other than by private yacht, requires some form of mass transport, namely air travel or cruise ship. Travellers to the Cook Islands arrive almost exclusively by airplane. This in itself means that many tourists to the Cook Islands come from reasonably affluent countries. Despite coming from a variety of generating regions, what they have in common is that on average, they are far wealthier than most Cook Islanders. In a discussion about backpackers with the owner of an outer island accommodation, it was pointed out that despite backpackers paying only a few dollars a night for accommodation and "roughing it", many Cook Islanders' impression that tourists (including backpackers) were wealthy was quite realistic as at the minimum, they have been able to afford the cost of air travel to the Cook Islands. This contributes to socio-economic distance between hosts and tourists, and may reinforce the influence of the demonstration effect.

On one outer island the rapidity and salience of the effects of socio-economic distance was manifested in the recent occurrence of children begging for money from tourists. The practice of begging is virtually unheard of in the Cook Islands, and it

came as a shock even to informants on the island whom I questioned about the practice. According to one informant, the practice had started within a couple of weeks of the opening of a small coffee shop on the island, the sole tourist 'restaurant' type facility on the island. Many of the children had not seen such an establishment and began loitering around the outdoor tables, talking with the tourists. Within a short period of time, they began asking for change. The informant felt that this may have been initially promoted by tourists, who thinking the children were "cute", gave them small amounts of money. This quickly evolved into the open soliciting of money from the 'wealthy' tourists by the children. At the time that the fieldwork was conducted on the island, the coffee shop had been open for six weeks. I was asked by children on two occasions (once at the coffee shop and again in a bakery) for money.

Another concern expressed by respondents about the socio-economic distance between tourists and hosts was that it was promoting crime in the islands through the demonstration effect, (which has been discussed earlier). If the socio-economic distance between hosts and tourists was less it is likely that these effects would not be as prominent or negative.

(b) Tourism Expectations of the Generating Countries. The tourism expectations of the generating countries also have an effect on the host nationals' ability to cope with tourism. This in some ways relates to how a destination country is marketed in the generating country. Tourists enter a country with general expectations of what the country will be like, and what activities they anticipate engaging while on holiday. This will influence the purpose of travelling to a destination, the type of

tourist who comes, and hence the amount and type of contact tourists have with host nationals.

In the case of the Cook Islands, the marketing campaign at the time of the fieldwork was "Visit heaven while you are still on earth". This campaign implied that the Cook Islands was a destination for relaxation in a beautiful environment. Accompanying photographic copy of white sandy beaches, sunshine and blue water suggested that 'sun, sand and surf' were the main tourist settings. While heightening awareness of the country, the campaign had been criticised for not distinguishing the Cook Islands from other South Pacific destinations by promoting the unique features of its culture. In addition, the 'Cook Islands' is often synonymous with 'Rarotonga', and many tourists to the Islands are unaware that the country is made up of 15 islands. The campaign did little to promote the true scope of the country (RPTESG, 1991). As discussed previously, the Cook Islands (mainly Rarotonga) is promoted in New Zealand and Australia (the main generating countries) as a comparatively inexpensive 'sun, sand and surf', package holiday destination. For other generating countries, the Cook Islands is often promoted as a "stop-over" destination as part of long-haul travel to the South Pacific region.

Aitutaki is promoted for the beauty of its lagoon, and in fact it is Aitutaki's lagoon pictured on the "Visit heaven while you are still on earth" campaign. This prompted one respondent on Rarotonga to comment that he was surprised that no tourists had taken the Cook Islands to court for false advertising. As was pointed out above, the Cook Islands and Rarotonga are often synonymous, and he felt that the

campaign implied that tourists would find equivalent beaches on Rarotonga. He expected that many tourists would be disappointed that they would not.

In contrast, the other outer islands are promoted quite differently,

The other islands (the outer islands excluding Aitutaki) do not have restaurants, bars or other trappings of commercial tourism development and welcome 'travellers' rather than tourists with open hospitality and a rare insight into life within small close-knit island communities...the hospitality is generous and spontaneous as will be the invitation to join in local events whether it be as spectator or participant!...If you like meeting new people, experiencing new culture, nature walks and lots of leisure time then a trip to the outer islands is for you (Island Hopper Vacations, *circa* 1992).

Advertising campaigns such as these create images and expectations for tourists while still in their generating countries. This subsequently affects the type of tourist who will visit the Cook Islands; incipient mass and mass tourists to Rarotonga and Aitutaki, and the more elite and off-beat type of tourist to the other outer islands. This in turn affects the level to which the tourists will adapt to the local culture, the type of activities they will engage in and the type and degree of contact they will have with the host nationals.

In addition, familiarity with the host country on behalf of the tourists may also affect the hosts' experience of tourism. If tourists are familiar with the host country, either through travel to a similar country or through contact with host nationals in their own country (such as New Zealanders' and Australians' contact with Pacific Islanders in their respective countries), expectations may be somewhat more realistic, and cultural distance may be reduced. Conversely, contact with host nationals in tourist generating countries could also potentially spawn negative stereotypes. These could

then generalise to the tourist setting, having a negative effect on tourist-host contact. Thus some features of the tourist generating countries will affect the experience of tourism for the host nationals.

(3) Cultural Distance.

When looked at in composite, the differences in the characteristics of the host and generating countries represent cultural distance between the two groups. This is an important consideration, as the greater the cultural distance, the more the host country may have to adapt in the context of tourism; thus a greater potential for stress to occur exists.

In the case of the Cook Islands, cultural distance between the tourism generating countries exists, however the profile of nationalities visiting the Cook Islands may lessen some of the potentially negative effects. Over half of the tourists entering the Cook Islands in 1991 came from either New Zealand, Australia or other Pacific nations. Although these cultures differ from that of the Cook Islands, the Cook Islands past and present ties with New Zealand, and the frequent travel to that country (and to a lesser extent Australia) means that the cultural distance is reduced. This balance however, may be somewhat tenuous. The profile of tourists to the Cook Islands is gradually changing with an increasing number of European and North American tourists arriving each year. In 1988, 32 percent of arrivals to the Cook Islands were from North America or Europe (17 % and 16 % respectively); by 1991 this had increased to 42 percent (21% for each of the generating areas). With increases in flights from these generating regions and more active marketing

campaigns, the Cook Islanders could experience much greater cultural distance between themselves and the tourists that visit their country. This has the potential to lead to negative impacts.

(4) The Context of Tourism.

The variables associated with both the host country and the generating nations determine to a great extent the context in which tourism occurs.

The characteristics of the host country contribute to the resulting type of tourism in that country. Governmental policies regarding tourism, infrastructure and amenities, the history of the country, the spacial geography of tourism in the country, the strength and integrity of the culture and the level of modernisation all contribute to the stage of tourism development, the type of tourists and the tourists to host ratios experienced.

Governmental policies in many ways dictate the type of tourism and the rate of tourism growth that a country will experience. In the Cook Islands, as discussed above, the policy is for controlled growth, which has occurred at a moderate rate. This also has a direct affect on the tourist to host ratio experienced and the spacial geography of tourism. These in turn directly affect the amount and type of contact that tourists and hosts will have.

The tourism industry in the Cook Islands has had a close association with New Zealand, not only through the number of New Zealanders visiting the country, but also

through the close colonial ties that the Cook Islands has had with New Zealand. For the most part, New Zealanders (and Australians) travel as incipient mass and mass tourists to the Cook Islands on short package holidays, often staying in self-catering accommodation. Emphasis is placed on 'sun, sea and sand', with visits to popular tourist attractions. It is the rare tourist (only 1% of the total tourist population) who venture to outer islands other than Aitutaki.

The amount and type of infrastructure and amenities also has a bearing on the type of tourism. Incipient mass and mass tourists require Western facilities, which in the Cook Islands, restricts them primarily to Rarotonga and Aitutaki. Elite and off-beat type tourists are more prepared to accept local standards, including lack of infrastructures and amenities; they are the tourists most likely to visit the outer islands. The literature suggests that elite and off-beat tourists are more likely to adapt to local conditions, thus it is likely that they would have less of a negative impact on the host community (though their contact is more interactive and intimate, resulting in other types of effects). Infrastructure also affects the stage of tourism development. Without adequate infrastructure, development is retarded until the necessary infrastructure is in place.

Levels of modernisation also influence the type of tourist frequenting a destination. Incipient mass and mass tourists, are more likely to travel to a destination that has experienced a degree of modernisation, particularly as this modernisation includes aspects such as the availability of modern amenities, possibly higher standards of hygiene, familiar foods and the hosts being familiar with the tourists' language. It is

also more likely that the hosts share a common conceptualisation of tourism with the tourists. Elite and off-beat tourist who are more prepared to adapt to local conditions are more likely to travel to areas that may not have experienced high degrees of modernisation. In doing so, as discussed previously, their genuine interest in the local culture may serve to reinforce self-esteem in the host population.

In summary, as a result of the characteristics of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga and Aitutaki tend to attract incipient mass and mass tourists. These tourists require Western amenities and tend to visit the islands for holidays in the sun. Although they have frequent contact with host nationals, it tends to be in tourist venues and locales; incipient mass and mass tourists do not often stray from mainstream tourist areas. The contact they have with the locals is superficial, but because of the requisites of Westernisation, necessitates that the locals make adaptations to cater for the tourists' needs. In Rarotonga and Aitutaki, most Cook Islanders have had a reasonable degree of exposure to the culture of the predominant nationalities of tourists; this may help moderate some of the potentially negative effects. Although the infrastructure on these islands is adequate to sustain current levels of tourism, without modification, the growth of tourism is retarded in the interim. This concurs with the Cook Islands' governmental policy of controlled development.

Tourism on Atiu and Mitiaro has a different profile to that on Rarotonga and Aitutaki. Due to the lack of infrastructure and amenities and lower levels of modernisation, these islands are in the early stages of tourism development. As such,

they tend to attract a elite and off-beat types of tourists who adapt to the local conditions, and are likely to impact less negatively.

The characteristics of the tourism generating countries also contribute to the overall context of tourism in a country. The main characteristics include the socio-economic status of the generating countries and the expectations which visiting nationals have of the host country. These variables contribute to the type of tourist who travels to a host country, thus contributing to the type and amount of contact that occurs between hosts and tourists.

Because the Cook Islands attract visitors from both the northern and southern hemispheres, there is no distinct seasonality to tourism in the Cook Islands. There tends to be a reasonably even flow of tourists throughout the year. So despite most tourists being short stay, the tourists to host ratios in Rarotonga and Aitutaki remain consistently high (*cf* Cook Islands Tourist Authority, 1992b). Because of infrequent (not daily) flights to the other outer islands, and the lack of infrastructure and amenities, tourists to those islands tend to spend only a few days and the consistency of tourist flows is not as regular as experienced by Rarotonga and Aitutaki. However, because of the type of tourists to these islands (elite and off-beat) contact between hosts and guests may not be as regular, but it may be more intense than the primarily superficial contact experienced on Rarotonga and Aitutaki.

The recreational characteristics of the residents of generating countries may also affect the type of tourist through factors such as length of paid leave available,

preferred activities while on holiday, travel patterns etc., but a full analysis of this was peripheral to this study.

Irrespective of the type of tourism in a host country and the type of tourists coming from the generating countries, one of the main factors in considering the outcome of the intercultural contact is the degree of disparity between the type of tourism available in the host country (stage of development, infrastructure and amenities, tourist density and conceptualisation of "tourism" and "tourists" in particular) and the type of tourists arriving from the generating countries (expectations, activities and level of adaptation). If there is a reasonable 'match' between the type of tourism available in the host country and the type of tourists arriving, then the likelihood of negative outcomes for the host nationals is reduced. However, if this balance is not achieved, then the resulting disparity between the two may contribute to an increased possibility that stress may occur.

In the Cook Islands, for the most part, it appeared that this balance had been achieved. The main exception to this was the conceptualisation of tourism and tourist in the outer islands. Even though the tourists to Atiu and Mitiaro were primarily of the elite and off-beat variety, they still conformed to a Western definition of tourism and tourist. However, many of the Cook Islanders on these islands did not share with the tourists the same conceptualisation, and at times contact between the hosts and guests resulted in stress, particularly as a result of unmet expectations of reciprocity and the commodification of generosity and hospitality. In addition, at times when tourists were of the type who did not adapt well to local conditions (such as the Italian woman

in the bikini so often commented on in Atiu), conflicts also occurred. Similarly, on Rarotonga and Aitutaki, those Cook Islanders who did not have a clear conceptualisation of tourism, or tended more towards traditional values, also experienced some levels of stress resulting from their contact with tourists because of this disparity.

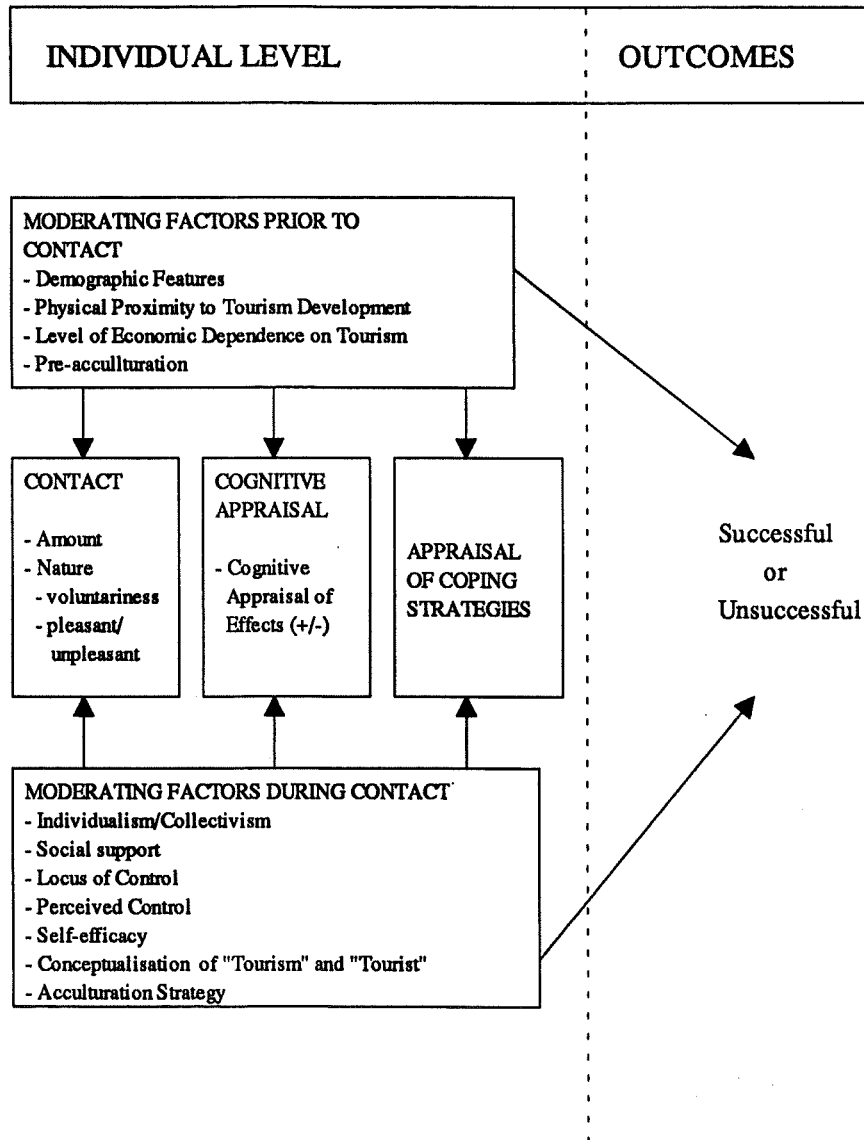
(5) Individual Level Variables of Host Culture.

Although acculturation is normally thought of as a group or population level phenomenon, not all individuals within the acculturating group participate to the same extent, or in the same way, in the broader level changes occurring. Additionally, as discussed by Berry (1988) and Dogan (1989), there may also be variation between individual responses and outcomes to acculturative influences within the group. This therefore suggests that in addition to the group level variables discussed above, there are also individual level variables which contribute to a person's ability to cope with acculturative influences. These individual level variables, in the acculturative context of tourism, are highlighted in Figure 3.1B.

In the case of the Cook Islands, despite cultural distance between hosts and guests and some disparity in the context of tourism in the Cook Islands, overall, individually and collectively, Cook Islanders did not have significant levels of stress. There were no significant differences in levels of stress between the four islands despite the different types of tourism and tourists experienced and differing levels of acculturation in general. It is therefore suggested that there are individual level

variables which moderate the effects of intercultural contact in the context of tourism in the Cook Islands. These will be discussed below.

FIGURE 3.1B
Individual Level Variables



(a) **Moderating Factors Prior to Contact.** Several factors prior to contact act as moderators during intercultural contact in tourism, contributing to the individual's ability to cope with any resultant stress. In this sense "prior to contact" does not refer

to a specific “before and after tourism” situation; it refers to characteristics of the individual which s/he possessed irrespective of personal contact with tourists and as such, were not developed in response to the individual’s intercultural contact with tourists.

(i) Demographic Variables. The first of these individual level factors includes demographic variables. Age, level of education, religion, status, language and family structure all contribute to an individual’s ability to cope with stress.

In the case of the Cook Islands, age acts as a moderating variable in this context in that older Cook Islanders were more likely to hold traditional conceptualisations of reciprocity, generosity and hospitality, and it was generally older Cook Islanders who expressed concerns about tourism’s effects on these areas. Education in the Cook Islands is related to acculturation overall, though it may play a specific role in the ability to cope successfully with the stresses resulting from tourism. Not only does education serve as a form of ‘pre-acculturation’ by introducing ideas associated with the main tourist groups visiting the Cook Islands, the current curriculum also includes a tourism and hospitality component, so many younger Cook Islanders are receiving formal education about the role and nature of tourism in the Cook Islands. Sharing a common language with the main tourists to the Cook Islands, may also moderate the effects of tourism by reducing cultural distance. However, it may also contribute to the negative effects if the predominant tourist language (English) begins to supersede the use of the indigenous language. Religion and family structure may also moderate the effects of tourism prior to contact by providing a

framework of social support and general guidance in interpersonal dealings. The individual's status within their society may also help moderate the effects of tourism by determining the position that the individual has in relation to the tourists, or the individual's sense of self-worth and security.

(ii). **Physical Proximity to Tourism Development.** The physical proximity to tourism development may also moderate the effects of contact with tourism prior to contact. If tourism facilities and activities are located away from those of residents' and do not infringe on the daily activities of the host nationals, then contact is less likely to result in a stressful encounter (Smith, 1980).

In the case of the Cook Islands, those living outside Rarotonga (and to a lesser extent Aitutaki), have minimal proximity to tourism development due to the very limited amount of tourism accommodation and facilities. In Rarotonga and Aitutaki, tourism development is spread around the islands, so most locals are able to retreat to residential areas that are void of tourism development. On Rarotonga, the main area for tourist-local contact was in the main township of Avarua. A few respondents mentioned the high number of tourists who could be found in Avarua, but this was not generally viewed as problematic. The appeal of beaches as tourist attractions, and the use of the lagoon on Aitutaki as one of the main scenic features of the island, result in some infringement of tourists' needs on the daily activities of host nationals. This is evident primarily in relation to the contrasting uses of the inner reef areas on both islands by the two groups; locals use the inner reef areas for fishing and gathering of food, whereas the tourists use them for recreation (eg. sightseeing,

swimming/snorkelling/diving, boating, windsurfing, sunbathing etc.). Although only one respondent specifically mentioned that locals were discouraged from using a beach/reef area in close proximity to a resort hotel, respondents on Aitutaki in particular expressed concern about potential competition for resources on the lagoon. The data suggest that this is not a current problem in the Cook Islands, but there was concern from some respondents that it could potentially become one.

(iii) Level of Economic Dependence on Tourism. The level of economic dependence on tourism is also a moderating factor in the effects of tourism prior to contact. When residents assess that they have a financial stake in tourism (though not too dependent upon it), then they are more likely to appraise their contact with tourists as being positive.

In the Cook Islands, despite the high economic reliance on tourism, most respondents felt that their personal financial situation did not depend on tourism. However, most respondents recognised that the economy of the country depended on tourism, and that it was a primary source of revenue for the country. This was often pointed out as being one of the positive aspects of tourism, that it helped support the (collective) economy. Although many did not feel they had a *personal* or *individual* stake in tourism (contrary to what employment figures in Rarotonga in particular suggest), the emphasis on the benefit for the *collective* may be a moderating factor in the Cook Islands.

(iv) Pre-acculturation. The level of pre-acculturation an individual has experience may serve to 'inoculate' them against the negative effects of further acculturation.

In the case of the Cook Islands, there were varying levels of pre-acculturation, particularly in the area of exposure to print media. However, almost all the respondents had either travelled overseas or had relatives with whom they had regular contact overseas. In addition, almost all respondents had had exposure to videos, originating primarily from overseas. Many of these pre-acculturative influences originated from New Zealand or Australia; the two countries who generate the highest numbers of tourists to the Cook Islands. Cook Islanders in general had all experienced pre-acculturation to some degree, thus this acted as a widespread moderator prior to contact with tourists, though obviously, it varied from individual to individual.

(v) Lifestyle. Finally, lifestyle (eg. clothing, housing, food, consumer goods etc.), in general acts as a moderating factor. Lifestyle in this case is considered as a continuum between 'traditional' and 'modernised' lifestyles. The closer to the 'modernised' end of the continuum an individual falls, the more likely that some of the negative effects of tourism may be moderated through familiarity with the tourists' culture, thus reducing cultural distance.

Although lifestyles on the islands of Mitiaro and Aitu could be considered more 'traditional' than those on Aitutaki and Rarotonga, all respondents had had exposure to 'modern' conveniences and lifestyles through travel, media and others on the islands

who possessed them. For example, although Mitiaro (and to a lesser extent Aitu) contained a mixture of traditional *kikau* structures and modern concrete block buildings, both islands had limited electricity, motorised vehicles and radio communication (Mitiaro had an intra-island phone service as well). Several homes had gas stoves and refrigeration, some had washing machines. On Rarotonga and Aitutaki, evidence of more 'modernised' lifestyle was widespread; so much so that some respondents referred to Rarotonga as a "suburb of Auckland". Again, as with other individual level factors, individuals varied in their degree of exposure and access to, and adoption of more 'modernised' lifestyles.

All the above factors prior to contact with tourists will 'set the stage' for the individual when they experience intercultural contact in the context of tourism, and contribute to the moderation of its effects. However, the factors that contribute to and moderate the individual's actual first hand experience of tourism also need to be considered.

(b) Contact Between Hosts and Tourists. The actual contact between hosts and tourists is, of course, central to the process of acculturation in the context of tourism (Figure 3.1B). As part of the acculturation process, the individual's contact experiences may account for some of the variations in outcomes. The amount and nature of the contact, the evaluation of the contact, and coping strategies employed will all contribute to the successful or unsuccessful outcome for the individual.

Obviously, to experience effects of intercultural contact resulting from tourism, the individual must come into contact with tourists. The amount of contact (whether it is frequent or sporadic) needs to be considered, as does the nature of the contact. In particular, the degree of voluntariness of the contact, in conjunction with the amount of contact, will be linked to eventual outcomes. Involuntary contact of any significant degree is likely to contribute to negative outcomes. In addition, whether the contact is perceived to be pleasant or unpleasant by the individual will also affect the subsequent outcome.

Once contact has occurred, the individual's cognitive appraisal of the effects of the contact contributes to whether the contact is perceived as stressful or not; one person's negative outcome is sometimes another's positive. In the case of the Cook Islands, this was quite clear from the data presented, and accentuates the need to assess the effects of tourism on both a socio-cultural and psychological level. In the areas of effects of language, culture (material culture and arts and crafts), social relationships, economy and education, respondents differed significantly. On the one hand, some assessed changes in these areas as being positive eg. improve English skills; reinforce cultural practices; provide more social opportunities; generate jobs; and support the economy and lead to an exchange of information. On the other hand, other respondents assessed those same areas as having been negatively affected by tourism eg. a decline in the use and fluency of Cook Islands Maori; degradation of traditional dancing; the demonstration effect; inflation; and a rise in individualism.

How the contact is appraised contributes to the level of individual stress resulting. If the contact situation is appraised as threatening to the well-being of the individual (appraised as being stressful), then options for coping are evaluated in terms of what (if anything) can be done to prevent negative aspects or to improve the prospects of benefit in the situation. Thus, the individual and situational variables shape the coping effort.

(c) Variables Which Moderate During the Encounter. There are several individual level variables that may affect the outcome by moderating during the tourist-host encounter (Figure 3.1B). Included in these variables are: the level of individualism or collectivism; locus of and perceived control; self-efficacy; the individual's conceptualisation of "tourist" and "tourism"; and acculturation strategy.

(i) Individualism and collectivism. If individualism and collectivism are seen as a continuum, an individual's place on that continuum will moderate their experience of stress through the level of social support available to them. Collective societies by nature have more social support available, and that social support may act to moderate the stressful aspects of tourism either by acting as a stress buffer (by providing a solution to the problem, reducing the perceived importance of the problem, by affecting less physiological stress responses or by facilitating adaptive behaviours), or by providing feelings of stability, predicability and self-worth in general. In addition, higher levels of collectivism may help promote collective coping, which makes it easier for individuals to cope with stressful life events.

The Cook Islands is primarily a collective society, but one of the reported effects of tourism is the rise in individualism. Individualism is also felt to be a concomitant of modernisation in general. So although collectivism may help to moderate the stressfulness of tourism by means of social support, the individualising effect of tourism (and modernisation) may act to reduce the stress buffering and general sense of well-being but reducing the collective orientation, and hence, also reducing the amount of social support for some individuals. Although both the literature and data from this research suggest that there are indications of a rise in individualism (particularly on Rarotonga and Aitutaki), it did not appear to be having a significant negative impact at the time the research was undertaken.

(ii) Locus of Control (LOC), Perceived Control and Self-efficacy. LOC, perceived control and self-efficacy may also contribute to moderating during contact with tourists. An internal locus of control, perceived control (in some contexts) and high self-efficacy are associated with increased abilities to cope successfully with aversive situations. Simplified, believing that one is control of situations (internal LOC), having the conviction that one can influence the aversiveness of a situation through one's actions (perceived control) and the belief that one has the ability to do so (self-efficacy), will lead to more successful coping. In the case of the Cook Islands, there were qualitative data to suggest that this combination of internal LOC, perceived control and self-efficacy was one of the main mechanisms for dealing with the negative aspects of tourism.

The data suggested that in general, change resulting from tourism was not negative, and at times even good, *as long as it remained in control of Cook Islanders*. The overall feeling was that tourism was currently under Cook Islands control (internal LOC), that they could in fact control many of the negative aspects of tourism (perceived control) and that they had the ability to do so (self-efficacy).

There were variations between the islands on these control factors.

Rarotongans recognised the need for control, but many felt that they were losing control to outside factions, particularly to the influence of money. Comments such as,

...so I think it will be pretty pessimistic outlook for the country in terms of tourism. But it's there and you've got to control it before it controls us. I'd say it's controlling us 40 percent, if I had to put a percent on it;

and,

Locals themselves affect it (change); they're greedy for money,

typify this concern. Another respondent on Rarotonga expressing his concern stated,

I think there are a lot of the Cook Island leaders or politicians these days they are definitely out there thinking money regardless of how their people suffer. You can go to the Minister (of tourism) and cry out loud 'There's a lion out there trying to kill us!' He will not hear you. No, the lion is coming to destroy the laziness, or whatever we call relaxation. No, no get rid of that ; we want more money to come. That's what it's like...I mean if government doesn't want that sort of thing to happen, that's part of the do's, the don't's, to find a system we can save ourselves

Aitutakians saw the need for control and felt that tourism was still primarily under the control of Cook Islanders, but perceived a risk of that changing. One subject (who was in a position to affect local decisions regarding tourism) spoke of this in relation to the possibility of the introduction of Sunday flights to the island. He likened

the decision to allow the flights to a camel asking to gain entrance to a tent; the camel first asks just to put its head in, then its neck and so on, until its entire body is in the tent and the occupant has been forced out. He concluded that, "(i)t's (no Sunday flights) the last thing on the island; we must hold on to it".

Another subject on Aitutaki alluded to this perceived threat to control, but indicated that decisions about tourism still remained with Aitutakians when she stated,

Over here, we rather have the locals take care of the industry instead of foreigners come in and take care of that. Before...we the locals handled tourism, now it's getting loose now. People from outside our reef are taking the tourist industry...For over here in the industry we would like the local to get occupied in the industry rather than, you know. I had one *papa'a*, an Australian guy that was running a lagoon tour, and his price is very high and the local price is very low. When one time I talk to him, he said but his equipment was very expensive. And I said well if you put your price high, then the locals will come up to your price and local, then the industry will be very expensive. Everything over here going to be expensive. With the locals, we take whatever, but with the *papa'a*, they want big money and that will really change. If the local does it, it's going to be on a very low basis. But if outside people come and they raise the price up, then the industry is expensive. That's what I told him...I said it's all right with you, you can go back to Australia, but the poor people that are going to live here, which you have already damaged the industry which is expensive, they don't come back here...he's gone back to Australia...I rather see the tourist come, but there's got to be limits.

Subjects on Atiu and Mitiaro held firmly the belief that tourism was under Cook Islands control and felt that not only could they control tourism, but they could exert control over the behaviour of tourists to their islands, as indicated by a respondent on Mitiaro who said,

To if the tourists come on our island, he or she must follow what the rule on our island is. Don't go what is the rule and what is not the rule...when they come over here they must respect the church laws first and then the island laws and then the Island Council. At the most I think whenever they come over you let them know before they come that they must respect what is happening...we like you (tourists) coming

over here seeing our island, seeing our people. But don't do anything we don't like....

There was also a strong sense that if tourists were not prepared to follow local rules and were not prepared to accept things the "island way", then they could leave,

...I mean if they come here and don't like the way things are, well that's tough luck...when they go out on the street if they are not going to like the way the hedges are done, that's, that's tough luck. They just have to accept the island as it is. Accommodation wise, that's different. They have a right to say 'I'm not happy with the accommodation'...They don't have a right to complain about the *tumunus*, they don't have a right to complain about the bakery you know, not having a variety of pastries etc. And I don't think they really have the right to complain about the island has no restaurant ...This so what, if he wants red wine on the table, he should stay in Rome.

Another outer-island respondent stated,

When you come on the island and try to change things, they'll point at you and say 'Go back to your own island', so I don't think tourists will change anything on the island.

Other respondents felt that tourists had no authority or power to make changes. Comments such as, "They have no right to make any changes on this island"; and "When you go to another country, you must following according to their culture " are indicative of this strong perception of island control over tourism and tourists.

There was a strong sense on these two islands (Atiu and Mitiaro), that tourism was acceptable, as long as it was benefiting the islands collectively. Although there was recognition that the proceeds of tourism supported the Cook Islands' economy as a whole, the sense on these islands was that they would continue to function effectively without the income that tourism provided. Control remained firmly, first, with the

people of the islands, secondly with the Island Councils, and finally with the Cook Islands as a whole.

Irrespective of island or level and type of control, most respondents felt that it was not tourists who affected changes, it was Cook Islanders who allowed the changes to occur. Thus even considering negative changes, the LOC remained internal,

...it's our people, it's us that make the changes. It's not the tourists. It's us. I don't know how you explain it. Because some people blame the tourists for the changes, but it's not the tourists. It's not you who makes the changes; it's us... Yes, we make it. We can't, we can't blame the tourists. They come here and get what we provide them... See it's a catch 22. No, well, that's what I believe; it's us that makes the change, not tourism... So I believe if we control tourism then we are not looking at tourism only for us, it's for our children.

Another respondent stated,

Tourism can't change it (people and culture); it's the people who will change it. If we can't control tourism, it's our own fault.

As one respondent summed up, "We are Maori people; we do what we like here".

(iii) **Conceptualisation of "Tourist" and "Tourism"**. Another factor which moderates during the contact situation is that of the conceptualisation of "tourist" and "tourism". This has been discussed above, so will not be reiterated here, other than to note again, that it was the potential affect on the concepts of *aroha* and reciprocity that are of concern. It is when there is disparity between the hosts' conceptualisation of 'tourism and tourist' and the type of tourist that visits, that negative effects may occur. If these factors are in balance, then the situation may be one of benign tolerance or

even of reinforcing the cultural identity of the hosts, thus potentially modifying the stressfulness of the encounter.

(iv) Type of Acculturation Strategy. Finally, the type of acculturation strategy adopted may act as a modifier during the contact situation. To what degree the individual wishes to retain their traditional culture and to what extent the individual wishes to have contact with the tourists, as well as which group has the power to choose the responses to the first two issues, influences the acculturation strategy adopted. The individual who is able to freely choose to maintain the aspects of their culture they wish, as well as having contact with the tourists and benefiting from that, is the one who is most likely to experience a successful outcome as a result of contact. Those who are either marginalised or forced into a situation of separation are likely to experience the most negative outcomes. Individuals may adopt different strategies in different spheres of their life, and the strategies may evolve in response to other factors such as the stage of tourism development, the type of tourists and cultural distance.

For the many Cook Islanders interviewed, because of their internal LOC, perceived control and sense of self-efficacy, they felt that they were able to benefit from the positive aspects of tourism. Many acknowledged that tourism was having a negative impact, but at the same time, as long as tourism remained in the control of Cook Islanders, they were able to extract from it what was beneficial.

(6) Outcome.

The outcome of the process refers to the individual's evaluation of the extent to which the encounter was solved successfully; the overall judgement is based on the individual's own evaluations, goals and expectations of the encounter with tourists. If the encounter results in lowered mental health status (especially confusion, depression and anxiety), feelings of marginality and alienation, psychosomatic symptomatology and identity confusion (compositely known as acculturative stress), then the outcome is one of unsuccessful adaptation to the situation. However, if contact with tourists results in maintenance of mental health (defined here as an absence of psychological dysfunction originating from the context of tourism), then successful adaptation has occurred.

Although problems may arise as a result of contact with tourists, they are not inevitable and depend on a combination of both socio-cultural and individual level factors, which moderate prior to and during the contact with tourists. Whether adaptation is successful or unsuccessful will subsequently influence the next episode of contact with tourists by affecting the coping process of the individual.

The conceptual framework proposed illustrated the socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism as moderated by other factors. It considered both group and individual characteristics which moderate during the process of acculturation in the context of tourism. On the group, or socio-cultural level, the characteristics of both the host country and the country (or countries) of origin of the tourists were considered, particularly as to how they affected cultural distance between

the two groups. These group characteristics were then considered in relation to how they contributed to the type of contact the hosts were likely to have with the tourists with particular reference to the amount of disparity between the type of tourism available in the host country and the type of tourists visiting. As not all individuals within a group experience the effects of tourism in the same way, or to the same degree, individual level variables which moderate during the process were considered. These individual level factors included: moderating factors prior to contact (including demographic features, proximity to tourism development, economic dependence on tourism, pre-acculturation and lifestyle); the actual contact situation (with particular emphasis on nature of the contact, cognitive appraisal and appraisal of coping strategies); and factors which moderated during contact (including individualism-collectivism, LOC, perceived control, self-efficacy, conceptualisation of "tourist" and "tourism" and acculturation strategy). Finally, consideration was given as to how these group and individual level characteristics contribute to the overall acculturative outcome (either successful or unsuccessful) for the individual in the context of tourism. The Cook Islands was used as a case study to illustrate the conceptual framework.

For the Cook Islanders interviewed, it appeared that overall, Cook Islanders were for the most part, adapting successfully to tourism in the Cook Islands. Based on the conceptual framework suggested, this overall successful adaptation results from factors which are specific to: characteristics of the Cook Islands as a country; the type of tourism experienced in the Cook Islands; minimal disparity between the type of tourism and the type of tourists travelling to the Cook Islands; widespread pre-acculturation and resulting familiarity with the culture of the predominant tourist

groups and specific features of Cook Islands culture that help moderate stressful encounters (particularly social support, internal LOC, perceived control and self-efficacy).

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Much has been written about the effects of tourism on the residents of developing nations. The literature suggests that many of the reported effects result from direct intercultural contact between tourists and host nationals. The literature further suggests that while these socio-cultural and psychological effects may be positive in some instances, they are often (devastatingly) negative. What is not clear is what factors may operate during the process of intercultural contact in the context of tourism to moderate (or facilitate) negative outcomes at the socio-cultural level, and how this affects the psychological experience of tourism for the individual.

Although some tourism research has been conducted from within the discipline of psychology since the 1970s, it is still emerging as a *bona fide* topic of inquiry (Pearce, 1982, 1983 & 1988), and much of the research has not been grounded clearly in psychological theory. Acculturation (both the process and the outcomes of) has been extensively explored within psychology. Researchers have addressed primarily the effects of intercultural contact on groups such as migrants, sojourners and students. It has been suggested that the conceptual frameworks for understanding the psychological effects of acculturation apply in the context of tourism (eg. Berry, 1990), however, there is minimal empirical evidence to support this supposition.

Despite tourism's superficial similarities to other forms of face-to-face cross-cultural contact, it is in reality a unique form of intercultural contact due to tourists' short stay in a host community, their apparent affluence as compared with local residents, and their motivations for travel. Tourists, as opposed to other acculturating groups, do not have to adapt to the local community, and because of their relative affluence, they are placed in a unique niche within the resident population, which allows them to observe and examine the host culture (Pearce, 1982). As such, it may be erroneous to suppose that the process for coping with intercultural contact in tourism is the same as, or similar to, that experienced in other situations of cross-cultural contact. In addition, as tourism itself is not an etic concept, having originating from primarily Western industrialised nations, the ability to interpret and subsequently adapt to intercultural contact in the context of tourism may differ significantly between different cultural groups.

The goals of this research have been, therefore: to gain an understanding of the emic conceptualisation of "tourism" and "tourist" in a developing country; examine the socio-cultural level (acculturative) effects of tourism in the country, (taking into consideration other agents of acculturation); and finally, to investigate the subsequent psychological effects on individuals within the culture resulting from intercultural contact in the context of tourism. Informed by grounded theory, the resultant data gathered were analysed, and a conceptual framework for understanding the relationship between tourism and acculturation, and the subsequent outcomes for the individual was developed.

The discussion that follows refers first to specific implications of the research for the Cook Islands, (the study area), and then to a broader discussion on the implications of the conceptual framework for understanding the psychological effects of tourism. The implications of the research (and its approach), for cross-cultural psychology will then be noted, and the discussion will conclude by identifying briefly areas for further research.

(1) Implications for the Cook Islands

This research utilised the Cook Islands as a case study. The results of the study suggest that there are specific features of tourism in the Cook Islands as well as ethnopsychological characteristics particular to Cook Islanders that moderate many of the potentially negative effects of tourism in that country.

At the time of the research, Cook Islanders in general seemed to have achieved a balance between the type of tourism they are able to provide and the type of tourist they attract. However, this balance may be precarious. Much of this balance is maintained by tourism remaining in the control of Cook Islanders for the benefit of the people of the Cook Islands. With increasing emphasis on the economic aspects of tourism, encouragement for individual entrepreneurship and continuing acculturative influences, it is almost certain that this balance will alter. As tourism develops it most often necessitates the introduction of outside interests to maintain the financial impetus needed. This means that power and control is subsequently relinquished, and there is a shift from community control, to national control and finally to international control (Keller, 1987). As this occurs, it is likely that it will be accompanied by decreased

perceived control and self-efficacy on behalf of the host nationals, which in turn are related to locus of control.

Currently in the Cook Islands, power and decision making regarding tourism remains primarily at the local level, and governmental policy dictates that tourism should be for the benefit of Cook Islanders. However, with increased growth of tourism and the introduction of projects such as the (still incomplete) Sheraton Resort which necessitate international financial interest, the balance, on Rarotonga in particular, has already begun to shift.

An increasing emphasis on growth of tourism and financial profitability places emphasis on individual gain over collective benefits. With a rise in individualism the moderating effects of collectivism decrease. As this social construct changes, social structures such as traditional hierarchies may also change. Status may be conveyed to those who are able to achieve under the introduced system of individuality and a monetized economy; those in a traditional position of power or prestige lose *mana* to those who are able to profit financially. Thus *mana* may shift from an individual who possesses the personal qualities, characteristics and birth right to the status, to the money itself. The commodification of intrinsic interpersonal cultural values (such as *aroha*, generosity, hospitality and reciprocity) may further erode cultural constructs which support collective well-being and moderate potentially harmful effects of tourism.

As stated above, this research suggests that at the present time, the Cook Islands have achieved a balance, which is currently being maintained. However, recent tourism development on Rarotonga suggests that the balance is shifting on that island. Aitutaki and the other outer islands may be somewhat protected from the direct influence of this change in tourism as they lack the amenities and infrastructure to support further significant development at this time. The *Cook Islands Tourism Master Plan* (RPTESG, 1991) contains suggestions that tourism development be encouraged on the outer islands, including Aitutaki. A recommendation for an additional 120 rooms on Aitutaki by the year 2000 was made, as well the recommendation of further tourism development on the other outer islands on the basis of "for the islands, by the islands, as they want it" (RPTESG, 1992, p. S/24). However, with the close contact between outer islanders and Rarotonga, the acculturative influences of a change in the balance of control of tourism in Rarotonga may 'spill over' to the outer islands. The effects may be even more salient if attractions such as day-trips from Rarotonga to the outer islands are promoted without due consideration of the potential impacts.

If the Cook Islands were to continue to support its current level of tourism as well as potential increases in touristic development without experiencing negative socio-cultural and psychological impacts, the importance of tourism remaining under Cook Islands control at community, island and national levels cannot be overstated. To maintain such a focus, traditional decision making processes and protocols will need to be reinforced by tourism planners and developers at all levels. Tourism is not

necessarily destructive; managed appropriately, it even has the potential to enhance culture at the socio-cultural (macro) level.

(2) Implications for the Psychological Effects of Tourism

The conceptual framework developed in the context of this study provides a means of understanding the direction of the effects of tourism and the variables which affect its outcome for individuals in a host population. Although this conceptual framework was developed in a specific cultural context, it has implications for other cultural contexts.

The Cook Islands share many cultural features, as well as similar tourism profiles to other South Pacific nations. As such, the framework may be applicable to other Polynesian countries. However, the framework may have even broader implications for international tourism in general. As the factors presented in the framework are not culture specific and hence, may be considered to be etic concepts, the framework could potentially be applied in many different cultural contexts, both in developing and industrialised nations. This however, would need to be assessed carefully prior the application of the framework in other cultural contexts.

The utility of the framework, additional to its potential generalisability, is that its application to a given tourism context may provide important data as to how the negative effects of tourism may be moderated or avoided. This may be subsequently incorporated into tourism policy and development, process and planning statements, thus promoting a more sustainable type and level of touristic development.

(3) Implications for Psychology

Tourism as a focus for research is a relatively recent area of inquiry in psychology. It has been approached mainly from a social psychological perspective, though clearly there is great scope for the advancement of knowledge through the application of theories from cross-cultural psychology and ethno-psychology.

Tourism is the main context for face-to-face intercultural contact in the world today. Its contribution to acculturation (though at times difficult to differentiate from other acculturative influences) is potentially immense, yet little empirical research has been conducted on this topic in psychology. Cross-cultural psychology has the potential to contribute to this knowledge through the continued application of theories relating to the impacts of intercultural contact, and the empirical testing of etic concepts and theories in the context of tourism. Cross-cultural and ethno-psychology may further contribute to a better understanding of the processes and effects involved in intercultural contact in tourism by defining emic conceptualisations of tourism and indigenous means of coping.

Finally, as discussed in Chapter 2, this research also brings into question the methodologies employed in cross-cultural research of this type. If knowledge is to continue to advance in this area, consideration needs to be given to the epistemological approach used as well as to the appropriateness of the methods used in the field. The integration of quantitative and qualitative methods, and the use of grounded theory, has great scope within cross-cultural and ethno-psychology as a means of advancing

knowledge within these fields. If executed well (systematically and empirically), these data are comparable in reliability and validity to more traditionally used methods, and in fact, may do so in a more culturally appropriate (and hence culturally valid) way.

(4) Future Research

Tourism, as the world's largest industry, and the main agent of face-to-face intercultural contact, requires further, detailed research into its effects. The research, to be of utility to the people that tourism affects, needs to be contextual, consider the emic conceptualisation of tourism and incorporate culturally appropriate conceptual frameworks and methodologies.

The framework presented in this research raises questions about further characteristics of tourist generating countries, and how these relate to the type of tourist at a destination, in relation to the impacts of tourism. As this research focused on the effects of tourism on the host nationals, interviews were not conducted with tourists to ascertain their characteristics. This may well prove to be of importance to the understanding of the effects of tourism, both for the tourist and the host nationals. Future research on the socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism may wish to consider these characteristics in more detail. The framework may also be enhanced by further ethnopsychological research on South Pacific Islanders as this may reveal additional cultural and psychological characteristics which affect the process of adaptation to stressful encounters, which would contribute further to an understanding of how the effects of tourism may be moderated.

Finally, as discussed above, the framework may be applicable to other cultures both within Polynesia and the wider South Pacific region, and further abroad. This highlights the need for future research to test empirically the framework in other cultural contexts, both to assess its generalisability as well as add to its further modification and development.

Tourism, as an industry, will continue to flourish regardless of its effects in the short term. Tourists will continue to travel to international destinations, and implicit in their touristic experiences is some degree of contact with host nationals in the countries they visit. For host nationals, this contact may be manifested in the actual physical presence of tourists as well as the presence of the incumbent industry that supports them (eg. hotels, restaurants, coaches, discos, casinos etc.). These developments are not without effects and have the potential to result in either positive or negative impacts for host nationals. It is through the continued study of the process of intercultural contact in tourism that clearer understandings of its effects will be gained. It is through this understanding of the process and subsequent effects that the negative impacts of tourism may come to be moderated, thus coming closer to achieving tourism which is both sustainable and for the benefit of the people it affects the most.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1. What is your name?
- 2. How old are you?
- 3. M/F?
- 4. Where do you live?
- 5. How many people are there in your household?

What do you do for a living?

What do the others in your household do?

- 6. Does your household income depend on tourism?
- 7. How much of the time do you speak Maori? Could you please show me how often?

0%-----50%-----100%
never half of the time all of the time

When do mainly speak English?

When do you mainly speak Maori?

- 8. Do you attend church regularly (most Sundays)?

Which one?

If you do not, is there a particular reason why not?

- 9. Have you travelled to any other islands in the Cook Islands?

Which ones?

Have you travelled to or lived in another country?

Which one(s)?

How long were you there?

Do you plan to live in the Cook Islands permanently?

Do you have any family who live overseas?

If so, who are they?

Where do they live?

How often do they come to visit?

- a) more than once a year
- b) once a year
- c) every few years
- d) more than 5 years between visits
- e) never

10. How many hours of TV do you watch a week?

How many videos do you watch a week?

How many hours a week do you listen to the radio?

How often per week do you read *The Cook Islands News*?

- a) everyday
- b) most days
- c) a few days
- d) never

How often per week do you read the New Zealand newspapers?

- a) everyday
- b) most days
- c) a few days
- d) never

How often per week do you read magazines?

- a) everyday
- b) most days
- c) a few days
- d) never

11. How often do you come into contact with tourists?
- a) often (daily)
 - b) sometimes (weekly)
 - c) rarely (fortnightly)
 - d) almost never (monthly or less)

12. In general, what are the situations that you come into contact with tourists?

Do you come into contact with tourists in any of the following situations? (as appropriate for each island)

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| at work | at church |
| in the shops | at cultural events |
| in the street | in your home |
| on the beach | in other people's homes |
| at the golf course | at the tennis court |
| at the sailing club | at restaurants |
| at the resorts | in bars/pubs |
| other (please specify) | |

Do you choose to spend time with tourists outside a work situation?

13. How satisfied are you with the contact you have with the tourists?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5

very	satisfied	neither satisfied	unsatisfied	very
satisfied		nor unsatisfied		unsatisfied

14. Do you wish to have the same, less or more contact with the tourists? Why?

15. Do you think there should be the same, fewer or more tourists coming to the Cook Islands? Why?

16. What sort of effects do you think tourism is having in the Cook Islands? Why?

17. What sort of effects is tourism having on you personally? Why?
18. What do you think should stay the same in the Cook Islands and not change?
19. Do you think tourism could change this/these? Why or why not?

19. What are your personal feelings about tourism in the Cook Islands?

20. Can you please tell me how you feel about tourism in the Cook Islands?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5				
very	good	neither good	bad	very
good		nor bad		bad

APPENDIX 2

MEASURE OF ACCULTURATIVE STRESS

Please indicate how often you have done or felt the following in the past month.

- 1) never or a little of the time
- 2) some of the time
- 3) a good part of the time
- 4) most of the time

1.	I was bothered by things that usually do not bother me.	
2.	I did not feel like eating; I was not hungry.	
3.	I thought my family and friends could not help me when I was feeling upset.	
4.	I had trouble sleeping at night.	
5.	I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	
6.	I felt depressed.	
7.	I felt that everything I did was difficult.	
8.	I felt good about the future.	
9.	I thought that my life had been no good.	
10.	I felt afraid.	
11.	I cried more than usual.	
12.	I was happy.	
13.	I talked less than usual.	
14.	I felt lonely.	
15.	I felt that people were not friendly.	

16.	I enjoyed life.	
17.	My heart beat faster than usual.	
18.	I felt sad.	
19.	I felt that people did not like me.	
20.	I could not get "going"; I had no energy.	
21.	I had headaches.	
22.	I kept to myself.	
23.	I felt like something bad was going to happen.	
24.	I felt worried.	
25.	I ate as much as I normally do.	
26.	I felt tired for no reason.	
27.	My mind was as clear as it used to be.	
28.	I found it easy to do the things I normally do.	
29.	I was restless and could not keep still.	
30.	I was in a bad mood.	
31.	I found it easy to make decisions.	
32.	I felt that I was useful and needed.	
33.	I felt sick.	
34.	I drank alcohol heavily.	
35.	I felt good.	

APPENDIX 3

1. KRUSKAL-WALLIS ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE (ANOVA)
Percentage of Maori Spoken by Island of Residence

<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Cases</u>	
26.84	25	Rarotonga
73.96	25	Mitiaro
58.64	25	Atiu
42.56	25	Aitutaki

Corrected for ties $X^2 = 37.53, p < .001$.

2. KRUSKAL-WALLIS ONE-WAY ANOVA
Number of Videos Watched by Island of Residence

<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Cases</u>	
44.02	25	Rarotonga
47.5	25	Mitiaro
67.34	25	Atiu
43.14	25	Aitutaki

Corrected for ties $X^2 = 13.15, p < .01$.

3. MANN-WHITNEY U
Number of Videos Watched Per Week by Two Island Groupings
(Rarotonga/Aitutaki and Atiu/Mitiaro)

<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Cases</u>	
43.58	50	Rarotonga/Aitutaki
57.42	50	Aitu/Mitiaro

Corrected for ties $Z = -2.54, p \leq .01$.

4. MANN-WHITNEY U
Hours of Radio Listened to Per Week by Two Island Groupings
(Rarotonga/Aitutaki and Atiu/Mitiaro)

<u>Mean Rank</u>	<u>Cases</u>	
44.88	50	Rarotonga/Aitutaki
56.12	50	Aitu/Mitiaro

Corrected for ties $Z = -1.94, p \leq .05$.